

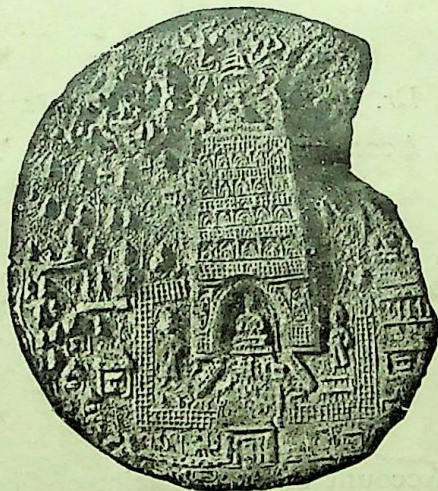
VOL. XXIII

PART II

THE JOURNAL  
OF THE  
BIHAR AND ORISSA  
RESEARCH SOCIETY

JUNE

1937



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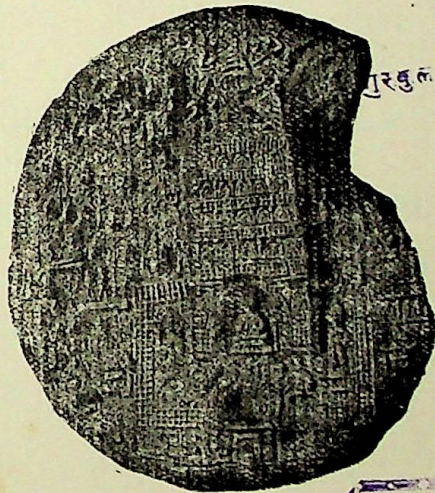
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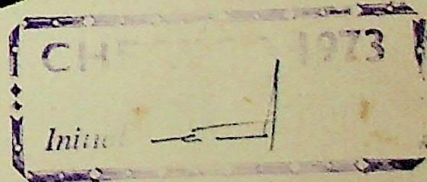
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in  
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By

FRANCIS BUCHANAN

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VOL. XXIII ]

1937

[ PART II

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**Leading Articles**

THE ORGANIZATION OF PUBLIC SERVICES  
DURING THE MUGHAL PERIOD

1526 TO 1707 A.D.

*By* PROFESSOR SRI RAM SHARMA

When Babar invaded India for the fifth time and supplanted Ibrahim Lodhi on the throne of Delhi in 1526 he seemed to have found little cause for recording any remarkable distinction between the organization of public services in India and that with which he had been familiar elsewhere. He seemed to have continued the existing practices, gone on giving jagirs to those he considered fit for them, bestowed titles on others when he was pleased with them, fixed every new entrant's salary himself, and appointed various officers to such offices he considered them suitable for. Humayun, though he reorganized the public administration of the country under 'celestial influences', seemed to have singularly left the ques-



tion of the organization of the public services alone.<sup>1</sup> Sher Shah, though he made many other experiments in practical politics, seems to have been little attracted by this problem.<sup>2</sup> The truth seems to be that the Jagirdars during those times were mostly left to make their own arrangements for filling such public posts as were to be held under them. The garrison commanders who were scattered all over the empire holding the neighbouring country-side in awe made their own arrangements for appointing such public servants as they needed. Though Sher Shah turned his attention to the most vital subject in Indian administration—the land revenue—he seems to have left other departments alone and in land revenue there was little scope for applying new principles for the organization of the State services.

It was left to Akbar to undertake a reorganization of the services. In the eleventh year of his reign, he introduced the numerical organization of his army. Abul Fazl thus describes the object and the contents of the regulation that was issued at this time. 'As the branding department had not then emerged into being, at this time the number of attendants for all the officers and servants of the threshold was fixed, so that everyone should keep some persons in readiness for service.'<sup>3</sup> The purpose of the regulation was, we are assured, to keep a number of men in readiness for military service under the command of the imperial

<sup>1</sup> *Humayun Nama* by Khwandmir, Elliot, V, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> *Sher Shah's Administrative System* by the present writer in the Indian Historical Quarterly for December, 1936.

<sup>3</sup> *Akbar Nama*, II, 270.



officers. Had the branding regulation been promulgated, this could have been automatically secured. But now in order to secure a number of soldiers the total seems to have been distributed among the imperial officers. The number of soldiers everyone was to bring was fixed. This fixation gave the officers their titles from the 'Dahbashis' (commander of ten horses) to the Panj Hazari (commander of 5000 horses). It is true that the *Ain-i-Akbari* speaks of several commanders who were dead long before the eleventh year as having held certain ranks. Bairam Khan and Tardi Beg are both described as commanders of 5000.<sup>1</sup> This is however extremely doubtful. The *Tabaqat* does not assign any numerical rank to either of the two.<sup>2</sup> Of course military commands and commanders have existed in all ages. What Akbar did in the eleventh year seems to be the *organization* of a *graded system* wherein the number of soldiers commanded was definitely fixed.<sup>3</sup>

This fixed certain features of the system permanently despite several changes that later crept into it. The salary of every official was determined and his rank in the service settled by his numerical designation. The numerical designations became a ranking list.

The table in the *Ain*<sup>4</sup> gives the personal salary of every Mansabdar. This is made clear by the fact that out of this salary an officer was expected to

<sup>1</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 279, 280.

<sup>2</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, list of Mansabdars at the end.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Moreland in the JRAS for October, 1936.

<sup>4</sup> *Ain*, I, 217 to 228.



maintain as his staff a certain number of horses, elephants, and other beasts of burden and means of conveyance. Thus a commander of 5000 had to maintain 337 horses, 100 elephants, and 400 camels 100 mules, and 160 carts.<sup>1</sup> The officer drew a salary for having been adjudged by the emperor as worthy of a certain rank and salary. He received an additional amount for the number of soldiers he was asked to bring into the field to serve for imperial purposes. At this time Akbar seems to have ordered that officials should bring into the field the number of men implied in their command.<sup>2</sup> That, and not the existence of any earlier designations, was responsible for the ranking list of officials being compiled in the fashion in which we find it in the *Ain*.

But this parity soon vanished. In the eighteenth year the 'grades of ranks' were determined and everyone was given an appropriate rank in accordance with 'the number of men to be led and his devotion' to the emperor.<sup>3</sup> Here we get the first inkling that the number of men led may fall short of the rank an official held. This shortage was to be made good by his 'estimated devotion' to the emperor. Thus an officer was not expected to bring into the field the number of men his office designated. The State did not suffer much thereby. He was paid for the number of soldiers he actually brought into the field. Of course he got his personal salary in full. That re-

<sup>1</sup> The table in the *Ain* has 100 lines (*Oitar*) of camels and 20 lines (*Qitar*) of mules. A line of each has been elsewhere defined in the *Ain*.

<sup>2</sup> Moreland argues otherwise.

<sup>3</sup> *Akbar Nama*, III, 117.



presented the Mughal emperor's estimate of his worth in money irrespective of the soldiers he brought into the field. The rank of the officer indicated the maximum number of soldiers he might have been called upon to bring into the field. The officer became a contractor for military labour. A part of his personal salary was a retaining fee for this service. Another represented the cost of his staff.

We have to remember that these Mansabdars were very seldom army commanders alone. Most of them were serving as executive officers, governors, Fojdars, Kotwals and the like—duties which have nothing whatever to do with army command as such, but which required their maintaining contingents of troops. Their position was not much unlike that of the army officers in modern India who are sent to perform civilian duties retaining their military rank all the time. Of course the performance of these duties required the use of military forces sometimes. But there were other offices filled by Mansabdars which did not require their ever leading military expeditions as long as they retained these offices. The Prime Ministers and the Finance Ministers, Provincial Diwans and News-Writers could not in the discharge of the duties of their office be called upon to lead armies. Under Shah Jahan we find this fact illustrated. Mir Salih was a Writer of Royal Orders, ranking a 500er,<sup>1</sup> he had to keep 4 horses alone. Muhammad Muqim another 500er had to maintain probably 3 and Shaikh Fazl had no such burden to

<sup>1</sup> I have adopted this method of translating the *zat* rank suggested by Mr. Moreland throughout this article.



bear.<sup>1</sup> Of course Todar Mal had led armies, but as the commander of certain expeditions not while he was the Finance Minister. There were other offices wherein again leadership of the army was seldom a necessary requisite. We know of poets, men of letters, painters and even cooks<sup>2</sup> holding Mansabs. The fact was that as Mansab settled one's rank, all aspirants to Mughal service liked to be enrolled among Mansabdars. We find Badayuni, a court Amam, starting as a commander of twenty.<sup>3</sup> Further Mansabs represented well understood grades of pay. Instead of settling every public servant's pay individually it was more convenient to assign him to a Mansab and leave him to fend for himself there.

Thus it is not surprising that in the eighteenth year there should be a divergence between one's numerical rank and the number of soldiers one actually maintained and was paid for. In the year 1003 A. H. (1595) this divergence was formally recognized by revising rates of pay. If a Mansabdar was asked to maintain the exact number of soldiers his command indicated he was considered a first class official in his rank. If his contingent was one-half, he was considered a second class official; in case it was even less than half he was an officer of the third class.<sup>4</sup> The difference in the salaries of the officers of three classes

<sup>1</sup> *Amal-i-Salih*, list of Mansabdars at the end.

<sup>2</sup> The *News Letters* speak of a cook (May, 1659), a physician (November 18, 1692), and a Superintendent of the Ajmir Musoleum of Salim Chisti (June 21, 1694) as holding offices of various ranks in Aurangzeb's reign.

<sup>3</sup> *Muntkhib-ut-tawarikh*.

<sup>4</sup> *Akbar Nama*, III, 671.



in the same rank was not very much. A Panj Hazari of the first class received Rs. 30,000 a month, whereas an officer of the third class in this rank received Rs. 28,000 a month.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the State recognized the divergence between the numerical rank and the strength of the contingent of troops under an officer. In the year 49, 1013 A.H. (1604) for example we find Mir Abu Tarab, Bayzid, Kalyan Dass, and Abadi being appointed as Hazaris with contingents of 500 each. Payanda Khan was appointed a Sih Hazar Panjsadi (3500) and asked to maintain a contingent of 2000 horses. Now these officers received a personal salary of the second class officers in their own ranks along with a sum put at their disposal for payment to their contingents. It is however interesting to note that in several other appointments made at the same time only the personal ranks are mentioned, nothing is said about the contingents.<sup>2</sup> Presumably they were paid salaries of the third class. In the following appointments made in the fiftieth year (1013 & 1014 A.H.) the discrepancy becomes still greater.

	Name of the officer	Rank	Contingent
1.	Tardi Khan ..	2000	500
2.	Rahmat Khan ..	1500	600
3.	Pratap Singh ..	1000	500
4.	Kushak Bahadur	500	50
5.	Bhao Singh ..	2000	500
6.	Ram Dass ..	2000	40
7.	Salhadi ..	700	400

<sup>1</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 217 to 228.

<sup>2</sup> *Akbar Nama*, III, 834.



8.	Sayyid Ahmad ..	400	50
9.	Amin-ud-Din ..	500	150
10.	Hakim Muzaffar	1000	50
11.	Raja Man Singh ..	7000	6000
12.	Maha Singh ..	2000	300
		<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL		25600	9140

Thus in these twelve appointments whereas the total of the numerical ranks comes to 25,600 the total strength of all the contingents was only 9,140. No fraud was however involved on the state. The warrants of appointments clearly laid down what was expected of each officer. Three appointments are mentioned where no contingents have been shown,<sup>1</sup> presumably because none were fixed.

Thus we find that till the end of Akbar's reign the status of the Mughal officials of all sorts was determined and their salaries fixed by the numerical rank to which they were assigned. These officials performed various types of duties all of which did not involve keeping contingents of troops. These were fixed in every individual case separately in the order of appointment. Contingents were varied from time to time. An increased contingent involved probably an increase in the personal staff of the officer and hence there was a slight variation in the salary. An increment in the contingent did not always mean a higher personal salary, it meant an increase in the power of the officer promoted. Thus, for example, as long as a Hazari's contingent did not reach 500 horses his pay remained the same, Rs. 8,000 a month, then

<sup>1</sup> *Akbar Nama* III, 836, 837.



it become Rs. 8,100 and reached Rs. 8,200 only when the contingent was 1,000 strong.

The salaries of these officials seem to be very high when compared with modern salaries even in India if we keep in view the difference in the prices now and then. Governors of provinces were usually officers whose ranks varied from 2,000er to 5,000er; their salaries (in the highest grade in their ranks) ranging from Rs. 12,000 a month to Rs. 30,000.<sup>1</sup> As against this the highest salary of a provincial governor in India now is Rs. 1,20,000 a year.<sup>2</sup> But the comparison is inapt. The salaries of the Mughal governors represented their total cost to the state and a part of it returned to the state in the excess of the value of the presents governors made to the emperor over the gifts which they received from him. No extra travelling allowances and no entertainment money were sanctioned, no extra staff provided for and no amusement arranged for. Further out of his salary the governor was expected to maintain a certain number of beasts of burden and carts. Thus the Panj Hazari who received Rs. 30,000 a month had to make the following payments.

Elephants	..	..	100	Rs.	1735
Horses	..	..	337	Rs.	3961
Camels	..	..	400	Rs.	2400
Mules	..	..	100	Rs.	300
Carts	..	..	160	Rs.	2400
					<hr/>
					Rs. 10796 <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 217 to 228.

<sup>2</sup> *Government of India Act*, 328.

<sup>3</sup> The list reproduced above seems to differ from the one



This was only a part of the monthly charge. The whole staff of the provincial governor was to be maintained by him. The governor had a Diwan, a Bakhshi, sometimes a Wazir, a Chief Secretary, a News-Writer, a Personal Assistant, a Reader, and a Mir-i-Saman, besides a host of minor officials, of his own whom he paid out of his own pocket.<sup>1</sup> He maintained a Vakil at the Imperial Court. Even then at a very liberal estimate about Rs. 12,000 a month were still left to the governor. This would be equal to Rs. 100,000 of modern times a month, if we take the purchasing power of the money into consideration.<sup>2</sup> Compare this with the total amount of money provided for the Governor of Bengal under the new Constitution.<sup>3</sup>

1. Salary.....	Rs. 1,20,000
2. Staff.....	Rs. 3,39,800
3. Misc. and motor car...	Rs. 1,00,000
4. Tour.....	Rs. 1,22,000
5. Sumptuary allowance...	Rs. 25,000
<hr/>	
Total	Rs. 7,06,800

copied by Irvine from the *Ain-i-Akbari*. Irvine has not translated the word Qitar used in connection with mules and camels. As stated elsewhere in the *Ain* a Qitar of camels included 5 camels and that of mules consisted of 5 mules.

<sup>1</sup> The *Babaristan-i-Ghaibi* of Nathan contains several references to the staff officers of a governor, Cf. the English abstract published by the present writer in the *Journal of Indian History* as 'Bengal under Jahangir.'

<sup>2</sup> *India at the Death of Akbar* by Moreland, 114. Cf. *Indian Economic Life* by Brij Narain.

<sup>3</sup> *Order in Council* (Governors' salaries and expenses), 1937.



The following table gives the salaries for the highest grade of various ranks in the reigns of Akbar, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

No.	Rank	Akbar <sup>1</sup>	Shah Jahan (1637) <sup>2</sup>	Aurangzeb <sup>3</sup>
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	10	1,200	..	..
2	20	1,620	1,000	1,000
3	30	2,100	1,375	1,375
4	40	2,676	1,750	1,750
5	50	3,000	..	..
6	60	3,612	2,500	2,500
7	80	4,920	3,500	3,500
8	100	8,400	5,000(?)	5,000
9	120	8,940	..	..
10	150	10,500	..	6,250
11	200	11,700	..	7,500
12	250	13,800	9,500	..
13	300	16,800	10,000	10,000
14	350	17,400	..	..
15	400	24,000	12,500	12,500
16	500	30,000	20,000	20,000
17	600	32,240	23,750	23,750
18	700	52,800	27,500	27,500
19	800	60,000	31,500	31,200
20	900	92,400	37,500	37,500
21	1000	98,400	50,000	50,000
22	1200	10,800	..	..
23	1250	..	..	..
24	1500	1,20,000	..	75,000
25	2000	1,44,000	1,00,000	1,00,000
26	2500	1,68,000	1,25,000	1,25,000
27	3000	2,04,000	1,50,000	1,50,000
28	3500	2,28,000	..	1,75,000

<sup>1</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*, 217 to 228.

<sup>2</sup> *Dastur-ul-Amal*, (Rampur).

<sup>3</sup> *Dastur-ul-Amal*, 44b quoted by Irvine in *The Army of the Indian Mughals*, p. 8. Cf. *Farhang-i-Kar Dani*, 21a to 23b which gives salaries for the ranks of 50 and 250 as well. The salaries of the officers above 1000 are also given in the *Farhang*. We know however that no appointments beyond 6000 were made.



No.	Rank	Akbar	Shah Jahan (1637)	Aurangzeb
29	4000	2,64,000	2,00,000	2,00,000
30	4500	3,12,000	..	2,25,000
31	5000	3,60,000	2,50,000	2,50,000
32	6000	..	3,00,000	3,00,000
33	7000	5,60,000	3,50,000	3,50,000
34	8000	..	4,00,000	..
35	9000	..	4,50,000	..

The following table gives the existing grades and the number of officers holding them in the reign of Akbar, Jahangir, Sah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

Serial No.	Rank	Akbar	Jahangir	Shah Jahan		Total no. of appointments	Aurangzeb
				1637	1647		
1	10	224	110	..	..	..	..
2	20	250	232	..	..	..	..
3	30	39	240	..	..	..	..
4	40	260	290	..	..	..	..
5	50	16	..	..	..	..	..
6	60	204	397	..	..	..	..
7	80	91	245	..	..	..	..
8	100	250	300	..	..	..	..
9	120	1	..	..	..	..	..
10	150	53	242	..	..	..	..
11	200	81	150	..	..	..	..
12	250	12	85	..	..	..	..
13	300	33	72	..	..	..	..
14	350	19	58	..	..	..	..
15	400	18	73	..	..	..	..
16	500	29 (+5 ?)	80	111	101	180	..
17	600	4	..	32	25	57	..
18	700	18	58	36	52	79	..
19	800	2	..	37	30	80	..
20	900	19 (+3 ?)	..	14	16	290	..



Serial No.	Rank	Akbar	Jahangir	Shah Jahan		Total no. of appointments	Aurangzeb
				1637	1647		
21	1000	2+ (+2 ?)	55	40	70	136	48
22	1200	..	..	..	..	..	..
23	1250	..	..	..	..	..	..
24	1500	6- (+1 ?)	51	30	35	72	33
25	2000	2 (+3 ?)	45	39	51	60	40
26	2500	4 (+1 ?)	42	12	5	24	19
27	3000	5	36	26	34	55	34
28	3500	2	30	..	..	1	22
29	4000	2	25	18	10	34	25
30	4500	2	9	..	..	..	..
31	5000	7	8	15	15	32	27
32	6000	..	..	4	2	7	14
33	7000	..	1	..	..	9	15
34	8000	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	9000	..	..	1	..	1	..
Total no. of officers of 1000 and above		51 (+7 ?)	302	185	222	401	277
Total no. of officers of 500 and above		123 (+15?)	438	405	446	117	..
Grand Total		1658	2064				

These figures are based on the *Ain-i-Akbari*,<sup>1</sup> *Pelsaert's Account of India*,<sup>2</sup> the *Badshah Nama*,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 279 and ff. Abul Fazl records more than 2000 Mansabdars dead and alive. The numbers entered in the table above represent the total number of Mansabdars who were alive at the time the *Ain* was compiled.

<sup>2</sup> By the kindness of my friend, Prof. Brij Narain, M.A., I have had access to his English translation of the account written by Pelsaert in Dutch in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. I have throughout cited the pages of this English translation.

<sup>3</sup> *Badshah Nama*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 292 to 328 (for 1637), Vol. II, pp. 717 to 752 (for 1647). The figures above



the *Amal-i-Salib*<sup>1</sup> and the *Dastur-ul-Amal*.<sup>2</sup> The *Ain* and the *Badshah Nama* mention all officers dead and living who were holding various ranks or had ever held them. The figures given in the table above include only the officials who were living at the time these accounts were compiled. That will provide a working basis for a comparison. Pelsaert's account is headed 'Roll of the Umras and Mansabdars, from the highest to the lowest, who after Akbar's death, entered Jahangir's service and were enumerated and entered in the royal register'. This seems to imply that it includes only such Mansabdars as were actually appointed to hold these offices on Jahangir's accession.

From the table it is clear that under Akbar there were thirty grades of these officers, from 1000 to 50000. The 1250 rank did not exist in theory,<sup>3</sup> but we know that several appointments in that grade were made.<sup>4</sup> The grade 1200 is mentioned but no appointments have been found to be made therein. Towards the end of his reign one more rank was added that of Haft Hazari<sup>5</sup> (70000). So there were 31 effective ranks of officers existing during Akbar's reign. Two officers had earlier held the rank of 45000 but were dead at the time the *Ain* was compiled. Under Jahangir some of Akbar's ranks were

refer only to the Mansabdars who were alive in 1637 and 1647.

<sup>1</sup> *Amal-i-Salib*, list of Mansabdars at the end of the volume.

<sup>2</sup> *Dastur-ul-Amal*, Bankipur, 148b to 152b.

<sup>3</sup> No salary is shown for this rank in the Table of Salaries which gives salaries for many other office appointments but which were never made.

<sup>4</sup> List of Mansabdars in the *Ain*.

<sup>5</sup> *Akbar Nama*, III, 839.



discontinued. There are no Panjahis (50ers), 120-ers, 600ers, 800ers, 900ers, 1200ers, or 1250ers in Pelsaert's account which further seems to imply there were no ranks above 5000er under Jahangir. This might have been true at Jahangir's accession only. Commanders of 600, 800, 900, and 1200 are mentioned in the Tuzak.<sup>1</sup> We know however that Man Singh was a 7000er at Jahangir's accession.<sup>2</sup> Another Mansabdar was promoted to 6000er later on. Several other appointments were made in the grades which were not current in Akbar's time. We have officers of 550, 750, 1200, 1300, 1400, 1800, 2500 mentioned in the Tuzak.<sup>3</sup> Thus the number of grades under Jahangir rose to be 34. Shah Jahan discontinued the ranks of 10, 50, 120, 150, 200, 350, 1200, 1250, 3500, and 4500 besides the new ranks added by Jahangir. He added two more ranks at the top however, 8000er, and 9000er.<sup>4</sup> No appointments were made during his entire reign in the

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs*, I, 164, 285, 289.

<sup>2</sup> Jahangir is silent about the rank Man Singh occupied in his reign. He simply tells us that he continued Man Singh in the place which he held at the time of his accession.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs*, II, 83, 282, 237, 77, 292, 197 make references to the appointments in the grade of 550, 750, 1200, 1300, 1400, 180, and officers of 6000 are mentioned on pp., I, 239, 268, 280, II, 232, 243 and 258. Appointments made in the rank of 7000 are referred to in I, pp. 320 and 333 and II, A, 66. The rank of 2500 was very common and is mentioned in I, 4, II, 90, 91, 153 and 232. Officers of 600, 800, and 900 are mentioned in I, 164, 285, and 289.

<sup>4</sup> *Badshah Nama*, and *Amal-i-Salih*, as cited above.

The ranks of 10, 50, 120, 150, 200 and 350 are not found in the Table of Salaries in the Manual of Administration (Rampuri). The list of Mansabdars in the *Badshah Nama* and the *Amal-i-Salih* mention no appointments to the rank of 1200, 1250, 3500 and 4500.



rank of 8000 even though the Manual of Administration shows a salary for this rank.<sup>1</sup> Thus under Shah Jahan we have 25 ranks only beginning with the 2000 and terminating at the 90000. As we have seen above the 80000 existed only on paper. Under Aurangzeb the 80000 and 90000 disappeared but the 5000 was revived and so was the 45000.<sup>2</sup> The total thus became twenty-seven.

The total number of Mansabdars furnishes interesting comparisons. Under Akbar there were 148 Umara of 500 and above at the time the *Ain* was compiled. This rose to 439 under Jahangir, to fall to 405 in 1637 and rise again to 446 in 1647. The total numbers of Mansabdars in the four reigns however reveal astonishing differences. There were 1658 ranked public servants under Akbar in about 1590, 2069 under Jahangir, 8000 under Shah Jahan in 1637, and 11456 in 1690.<sup>3</sup> It has been suggested that as the *Ain* mentions by name public servants of 200 and the *Badshah Nama* records those above the 5000 this should imply that 2000s had the same grade under Akbar as was occupied by 5000s under Shah Jahan.<sup>4</sup> This suggestion however finds no support in the

<sup>1</sup> The lists of Mansabdars in the *Badshah Nama* and the *Amal-i-Salih* contain no names in the rank.

<sup>2</sup> *Farhang-i-Kar Dani* (f. 21a to 23b) mentions the following ranks held by officials; 6000, 5000, 4500, 4000, 3500, 3000, 2500, 2000, 1500, 1000, 900, 800, 700, 600, 500, 400, 300, 250, 200, 150, 100, 80, 60, 50, 40, 30 and 20. Of course we have the ranks of 7000, 8000, 9000, 12000, 15000, 20000, 25000, 30000, 35000, 40000, 45000, 50000 also mentioned but these were usually held—if at all—by the princes.

<sup>3</sup> *Badshah Nama*, II, p. 715.

*Zawabat-i-Alamgiri*, f. 15a.

<sup>4</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochman, I, 239.



salaries of these ranks. A 2000r under Akbar got Rs. 11,700 a year, whereas under Shah Jahan the salary of the 5000r of the first class was Rs. 20,000 a year; a 2000r under Shah Jahan was not much worse of than a 2000r under Akbar. He got Rs. 7,500 a year against Rs. 11,700 due to the lowering of the salaries by about 25% under Shah Jahan.

Very interesting light is thrown on the appointments made in the reign of Shah Jahan shown in the last column of the table. In the *Amal-i-Salib* we have all information brought together about the highest ranks to which various individuals reached during the thirty years of Shah Jahan's reign. In all 846 Mansabdars held public offices of the status of 5000r or above throughout the entire reign of Shah Jahan. Of course several of them were dead when the list was compiled. It can be usefully compared with the 252 appointments of 5000r and above made till about 1590 in Akbar's reign. The list of Aurangzeb's Mansabdars is far from complete.<sup>1</sup>

The increase in the number of Mansabdars in the reigns of Akbar's successors can partly be attributed to the expansion of the empire under them. But this would account for only a fraction of the rise which seems to have been largely due to the inclusion of several classes of state servants among the Mansabdars. To begin with a much larger

<sup>1</sup> This list has been compiled by the writer of the *Dastur-ul-Amal* from the available histories alone. It mentions 52 Hindu Mansabdars of 1000 and above whereas 116 such Hindu Mansabdars are known to have been appointed. Cf. *The Religious Policy of Aurangzeb* by the present writer. 'I. H. Q.' June, 1936.



number of Rajas, and chiefs, and their dependants figures among the Mansabdars than was the case under Akbar.

Under Jahangir we find a Superintendent of Stalls holding the rank of a 1000er.<sup>1</sup> A Superintendent of the Farrash Khana did even better and was made a 2000er.<sup>2</sup> A Superintendent of Goldsmiths was also a 1000er<sup>3</sup> whereas the Bakhshi of Dar Khana was a 1500er.<sup>4</sup> A wrestler was given a Mansab in the eleventh year<sup>5</sup> and we find a story-teller holding the rank of a 200er.<sup>6</sup> A librarian held the rank of a 1500er.<sup>7</sup> A provincial Inspector of Buildings was a 1000er<sup>8</sup> whereas under Akbar 1000ers had served as the governors of the provinces.<sup>9</sup> But Jahangir seems to have cheapened the higher ranks rather than increased the total number of Mansabdars. Pelsaert however is mentioning the number of Mansabdars on Jahangir's accession only and we cannot judge of the result of Jahangir's toying with the State services from Pelsaert's list.

In the fifty years of Aurangzeb we have not less than 148 Hindu Mansabdars of 1000 and above<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs*, I, 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, I, 51.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, I, 374.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, I, 260.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, I, 335.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, I, 337.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, II, 22.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, II, 61.

<sup>9</sup> In the year 31 of Akbar, Abul Fazl who was a commander of 1000 (*Akbar Nama*, III, 457) was appointed Joint-governor of the province of Delhi (*Akbar Nama*, III, 511). Raja Askarn, Joint-governor of Agra was also a commander of 1000. *Akbar Nama*, III, 457 and 511.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the present writer's *Religious Policy of Aurangzeb* and the authorities quoted therein.



as against 14 Hindu Mansabdars and 137 Mansabdars in all under Akbar<sup>1</sup>. Akbar's list seems to include Public Servants, civil and military only. The Court Bulletins of Aurangzeb's reign furnish us with a curious insight into the Mansabdar organization. We have Qazis holding Mansabs<sup>2</sup> and Vakil-i-Shara being given high command<sup>3</sup>. It is doubtful whether under Akbar, News-Writers, pure and simple, held any Mansabs. Under Aurangzeb we find the News-Writers and Postal Messengers holding Mansabs varying from 100 to 250<sup>4</sup>. Coming to the imperial household and the royal court we find a royal mace bearer of 200<sup>5</sup> and their superintendent holding the rank of a Haft Sadi (700)<sup>6</sup>. The superintendent of the Royal Anteroom was a Panj Sadi (500)<sup>7</sup>. A Reader of the Court Bulletins in the Imperial Court is found to be a Sih Sadi<sup>8</sup> (300) whereas another held the rank of a Haft Sadi (700)<sup>9</sup>. A Superintendent of the Royal Kitchen was Do Sad Pachasi (250)<sup>10</sup>. A Superintendent of Royal Tours is found to be a 450er<sup>11</sup>. Among the manufacturers,

<sup>1</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, list of Mansabdars.

<sup>2</sup> *Court Bulletin* dated December 23, 1702.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 15-1-1703 mentions such an officer holding the rank of 250, whereas *Court Bulletin* dated 27-8-1705 mentions one holding the rank of 300.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*; 18-1-1702 mentions a News-Writer of the office of Khan-i-Saman holding the rank of 300. Sawanih Niagar of the province is mentioned as a commander of 100 and the News-Writers of Atawah and Surat as commanders of 250.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 5-1-1703.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 3-9-93.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, 27-10-1702.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 13-11-1702.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, 27-11-1704.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 26-1-1705.



we have a 1000er Superintendent of Goldsmiths, and Royal Drinks<sup>1</sup>. A 400er is found supervising a diamond mine,<sup>2</sup> whereas another was in charge of Ilaqband Khana.<sup>3</sup> In the army the Ahdis required three Bakhshis.<sup>4</sup> There was a Bakhshi (500er) of skilled labourers of various sorts<sup>5</sup> and a Superintendent (250) of Bearers.<sup>6</sup> In the ecclesiastical department, we find a Superintendent of Charities (Nisar) a 500er,<sup>7</sup> a Censor, a 200er<sup>8</sup> and a provincial Sadr, 500er.<sup>9</sup> In the Public Works Department we have a Mir-i-Amarat, 400er<sup>10</sup> and a Superintendent of the Buildings at Lahore a 250er<sup>11</sup>, a Superintendent of Irrigation in the province of Lahore holding two offices being a 400er.<sup>12</sup> The Superintendents of various types of Imperial Stores are found drawing their salaries as Mansabdars of from 200 to 2500.<sup>13</sup> Even the Store

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 17-10-1702 and 27-10-1702.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 10-2-1704.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 16-2-1704.

<sup>4</sup> One of them was an officer of 700 (*Ibid*, 4-11-1704) the Principal Bakhshi was a commander of 1000 (*Ibid*, 17-11-1702). A Bakhshi No. 3 of the Ahdis is also mentioned.

<sup>5</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 29-4-1703.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 13-2-170.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, 13-2-1704.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 11-1-1705.

<sup>9</sup> A Sadr of Province of Malwa was an officer of 500.

<sup>10</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 30-1-1703.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 18-1-1704.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, 7-9-1704.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*,

Superintendent of the Beds, (400). 10-7-1702.

„ of Rosaries, (400). 14-7-1702.

„ of Dishes, (400). 1-7-94.

„ of Lamps, (200). 9-7-94.

„ „ „ (300). 21-7-1702.

Superintendent of Fruity, (600). 2-10-1702.

Karori of Elephants, (400). 7-10-1702.



Keepers<sup>1</sup> of the royal princes were Mansabdars. A manufacturer of scent was a 400er,<sup>2</sup> while another was more fortunate as he was a 500er.<sup>3</sup> A Superintendent of Stables is found to be a 400er.<sup>4</sup> The royal servants sent to make purchases also held Mansabs; we find one 300er<sup>5</sup> and another 400er<sup>6</sup> mentioned. A Superintendent of Gardens was a 150er.<sup>7</sup> An Overseer of Masons was a 250er.<sup>8</sup> Various types of permanent contractors of labour were also similarly paid. We find one holding the rank of a 300er.<sup>9</sup> Officers in the mining department are also found holding similar offices.<sup>10</sup> Many tax collectors also held Mansabs. A Superintendent of the Market was 200er in 1704.<sup>11</sup> An assessor of the remission to be granted to the cultivators for the land trampled by the armies was a 250er.<sup>12</sup> The customs officers at Surat was always an official of high rank. A Musharaf of the Library was a 200er in 1694.<sup>13</sup>

Superintendent of Royal Drinks, (1000). 27-10-1702.

„ „ Ras Khana, (300). 29-2-1705.

„ „ Dahandi Khana, (250). 17-5-1703.

„ „ Stores, (150). 28-6-1704.

„ „ Maidservants and Randar Khana,  
(2500). 8-8-1704.

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 31-7-81.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 23-6-94.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 31-9-1704.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 19-7-94.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 14-11-1702.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 17-4-95.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, 23-12-1702.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 21-2-1704.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, 30-1-1703.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, 9-12-94.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 10-10-1704.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, 2-8-1694.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, „



A Superintendent of the Royal Library who also held another office was more fortunate in 1703 as he was a 400er.<sup>1</sup> A Tahvildar of the Library (sectional curator probably) was only a Sadi (100er) in 1704.<sup>2</sup>

Aurangzeb created a new department for the collection of the Jazya. Various officers here did not go beyond 700er. There were various grades of collectors put in charge of parganahs, sarkars, provinces, sometimes a group of provinces, and particular cities.<sup>3</sup>

Certain officers on the staff of various princes and other members of the royal family also held Mansabs. A Superintendent of Maids in Kam Bakhsh's palace was a 300er in 1703.<sup>4</sup> A physician in the palace of Queen Udaipur Begum was a 150er.<sup>5</sup>

Bakhshis, Mir-i-Samans, Diwans, Sadrs, Diwan-i-Bayutats, Superintendents of the Palace, Superintendent of the Diwan Khana, Daroghas of Charities, and Mir-i-Tuzk of Princes and other members of the imperial family are spoken of in the *News Letters* of the period as Mansabdars of various ranks and grades.<sup>6</sup> A Superintendent of the Private Audience-hall also held a Mansab.<sup>7</sup>

Various types of members of the staff of executive officers also held Mansabs. A News-Writer of the

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 29-12-1703.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 17-9-1704.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the present writer's *Religious Policy of Aurangzeb*.

<sup>4</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 25-3-1703.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 11-1-1705.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, for the years 1681, 1694, 1672.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, 15-4-96.



Khan-i-Saman's office was a 300er in 1702<sup>1</sup> and a personal assistant a 400er in 1704.<sup>2</sup> A personal assistant of the Governor of Lahore combined this office with that of Fojdar of Sirhind.<sup>3</sup> The writer of ranks in the office of the Imperial High Diwan was a 100er in 1704.<sup>4</sup> Physicians in charge of public dispensaries were also reckoned as Mansabdars. A Superintendent of a Public Dispensary in 1692 held the rank of a 700er.<sup>5</sup>

Under Aurangzeb many more officers were given Mansabs than was customary under Akbar. Further officials were multiplied to discharge the same duties. Not only was the work of the Diwan distributed among three officials, similar divisions appeared in the office of sectional or provincial Diwans as well.<sup>6</sup> The growing luxury of the imperial entourage also increased the number of public servants in attendance upon the emperor. The complexity of the work of the government was further responsible for this increase.

All Mansabdars were directly recruited by the emperors. The number of the new recruits added every year was not very large. We have the daily *Court Bulletins* for about ten months of the thirty-

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 18-11-1702.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 12-4-1704.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 29-9-1704.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 14-10-1704.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 18-11-1692.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, a second Bakhshi in Kabul and a Bakhshi of the Ahdis in Kabul is referred to in the *Court Bulletin* dated February 12, 1701. Salabat Khan is spoken of as first Mir-i-Tuzak on December 12, 1692 presumably because there were others as well. A Mir Bakhshi of Ahdis is mentioned on October 29, 1699.



eight year of Aurangzeb's reign. During this period only seventy-six new Mansabdars were appointed in the ranks of 40, 60, 80, 100, 150, 200, 300, 400, 500, 700, 1000, 2000, 3000, 4000, and 6000. The new recruits include, among others, Maratha deserters and the relatives of Mansabdars already in service. The number of foreigners among the new appointments of the year is almost negligible. Most of the appointments were made in the lower grades. The emperor usually acted on the recommendation of the leaders of military expeditions, the governors of the provinces, and the high court officials. When an appointment was first announced, usually the rank and the salary of the new entrant alone were stated. The actual work to be entrusted to him was decided upon later on. There were no public examinations and no interviews for selection. The imperial eye was always considered sharp enough to discern merit. But once an officer was enrolled in the Mughal public services it was mostly his capacity for pleasing the emperor in office, or at the battlefield, as a Qazi or a physician, that decided his promotion. Increment in rank and salary usually followed the two new year festivities, the royal birthday festivities and the termination or the beginning of an expedition. Besides successful service the presents made to the emperor also played some part in deciding promotions.

Various types of honours were conferred on the public servants. Titles were bestowed and confiscated,<sup>1</sup> use of certain emblems of greatness allowed and

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, October 10, 1669; March 27, 1671, May 6, 1693.



cash gifts bestowed. Robes of honour were bestowed sometimes from the emperor's own wardrobe.<sup>1</sup> Ornaments of various descriptions were given, swords and daggers with costly handles were awarded. Several types of means of conveyances, palkis, horses, and elephants with rich trappings often marked their recipients as special objects of the emperor's favour. 'Kettle drums and the permission to play them were granted' under certain conditions. No one was allowed to beat them like the emperor when coming out of his residence.<sup>2</sup> Further they were not to be sounded in the emperor's presence or near his camp. Out of this were born many complications. Sometimes the leader of an expedition might insist that inferior Mansabdars be not allowed to beat their drums.<sup>3</sup> Ordinarily they were not conferred on those below the rank of 20000 but the emperors could of course always make exceptions.<sup>4</sup> A greater honour was the permission to fly one's own flag. This was not supposed to be conferred on those below the rank of 50000.<sup>5</sup> We have however several cases in Aurangzeb's reign where many officers with lower ranks were granted this honour. Muhammad Ibrahim, a Hazari (10000) was given a flag on December 14, 1699. Even earlier the honour had become so cheap that on October 22, 1694, Aurangzeb called for a statement from one of his Superintendents showing

<sup>1</sup> In the *Tuzak Jahangir* mentions several such cases.

<sup>2</sup> *Bengal under Jahangir* in 'J. I. H.', XIII, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Bengal under Jahangir* records many such quarrels.

<sup>4</sup> On April 27, 1700 the Fojdar of Sator who was a 15000 was given kettle drums. *Court Bulletin* of the same date.

<sup>5</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 14-2-1703.



how many officials between the ranks of 1000 and 7000 had received the right to fly their own flags and beat their own drums.<sup>1</sup> The highest honour conferred was the use of the Mahi-o-Maratab, ('a representation fish on a pole carried on an elephant with certain other insignia'). It was not supposed to be given to any one below the rank of 6000cr. But we find Aurangzeb conferring it on Nasrut Jang who had a lower grade.<sup>2</sup> Money grants were also frequently made. These might imply either the grant of an additional Jagir or a cash order on the treasury. All these honours, like the titles, could be confiscated by the emperor and were held during imperial pleasure only.

The method of paying salaries has been much misunderstood. The Mansabdars were usually paid their salaries in cash. Thus in 1690 or thereabout out of 11456 Mansabdars 7999 were receiving cash salaries. Only 3457 held Jagirs.<sup>3</sup> When a Mansabdar was given a Jagir in lieu of his salary this did not make him in any sense of the term the owner of the land in his Jagir. The cultivators remained owners of their lands as before. He simply got the right of collecting land revenue from the assigned tract. Further he was authorized to collect only the land revenue as the State had assessed it on the cultivators. If any incidental charges were remitted, he was expected to discontinue realizing them.<sup>4</sup> Under

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, dated 14-12-9 and 22-1-94.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters*, No. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Zawabat-i-Alamgiri* MS., 15a.

<sup>4</sup> *Khafi Khan*, II, 550, 551.



Akbar at least any remission of the land revenue granted by the emperor took effect in the crown lands as well as in the Jagirs.<sup>1</sup> In its own interests it was necessary for the State to see that the Jagirdar realized no more than the sanctioned dues. The Jagirdars were not farmers of land revenue who had purchased the right of collecting land revenue from the State at a consideration. They had a claim against the State for their salaries and were therefore asked to collect the land revenue equivalent thereto which the State would have had to collect otherwise itself. Any excess collected not only involved injustice towards the cultivators it was a fraud against the State as well. If the State learnt that a particular tract had been made to yield a larger amount than was due to the particular Mansabdar it could reduce the Jagir. A letter of Meghraj, the agent of the Raja of Jaipur in the imperial court dated 7 Zi Haj in the 36 regnal year of Aurangzeb informs the Raja that the excess of revenue collected had to be paid to the treasury.<sup>2</sup>

The Jagirdar did not usually replace all government authority in his Jagir. All other agents of the imperial government remained stationed even in the assigned districts.<sup>3</sup> He only replaced the public collectors of land revenue by his own agents. Even the assessment of land revenue on individuals seemed to have remained in the hands of imperial representatives as before. The land revenue accounts were

<sup>1</sup> *Akbar Nama*, III, 587, and 747.

<sup>2</sup> *Jaipur Records*, Vol. VIII.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, for the quarrels between the Fojdar of Mattura and the representative of the Jagirdar's men there.



kept as usual by the Patwari on behalf of the village. The Muqaddam collected the land revenue as before from the cultivators in his village.

Under Aurangzeb however the powers of the jagirdars became very great when sometimes they were appointed to be executive officers of the assigned territory. No one was however allowed to exercise any executive powers by virtue of his holding a particular jagir only. Executive powers could only be exercised when a Jagirdar was appointed to hold a particular executive office as well. As early as September, 1669, we hear of Rustam being appointed the Fojdar of Nagpur where he already held a jagir. Similar cases occur in the accounts of the year 1696, and 1700.<sup>1</sup> These may however have formed an exception.

In replacing the collecting agency by his own servants, the Jagirdar acquired the right of adjudicating disputes about the land, if and when, they were brought to his agents by those concerned. This would usually happen only when the village or the caste Panchayat failed in deciding the case or in giving satisfaction to one of the parties by its decision. We have to remember that primary revenue records were prepared and kept on behalf of the villagers by the Patwari who was an agent of the community paid for by them. Thus there was no chance of any conflict of authority between the village Panchayat and village officials trying to increase their own jurisdiction. A case would go to the Jagirdar's court only if the

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, September, 4, 1669; August 26, 1696, and June 6, 1700.



Panchayat's decision was not acceptable to the parties.

In making payment by Jagirs the State gained a good deal. It was saved the necessity and the cost of appointing its own agents for collection. A Jagirdar was usually worse off than a Mansabdar who received his salary in cash and who had no cost of collection to pay. An interesting document in the *Jaipur Records* gives us some idea as to what the Jagirs were worth in Aurangzeb's reign to the assignees. Sayyid Masud had a Jagir in the Parganah of Chatsu worth 463786 Dams (Rs. 10,094- $\frac{1}{2}$  $\frac{3}{8}$ ). In the thirty-fifth year he farmed his rights to Kushal Singh, Subhal Singh and Swami Dass for a payment of Rs. 5,046 clear of all expenses to be paid to him in instalments wherever he might be.<sup>1</sup> If this is a typical case revealing the worth of the Jagirs to the assignees our ideas about the high salaries of the Jagirdar section of the Mansabdars will have to be radically revised. At any rate in the beginning of the eighteenth century the things do not seem to have been much better. We find Sadiq Khan, a 800er, asking for a cash salary in place of a Jagir<sup>2</sup> whereupon his Mansab was reduced to that of a 400er. Another Jagirdar did a little better. He got his salary changed from Jagir into cash at the rate of 7/12th.<sup>3</sup> A general order issued about this time tells us that the cash salaries were given at 1/2 of the value of the Jagirs.<sup>4</sup> In another case a Jagirdar fared even worse. He got 5 months' salary

<sup>1</sup> *Jaipur Records*, VII.

<sup>2</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 10-2-1704.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 19-3-1704.

<sup>4</sup> *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, 160.



in cash in exchange obviously for a full year's Jagir.<sup>1</sup>

As against this we have an interesting case in the reign of Akbar. Yusuf in Kashmir was given an assignment of the revenues at 22 lakh Kharvars (ass-loads) converted into cash at 16 dams an assload. He had thus been given a Jagir there worth Rs. 880,000 a year. A complaint was brought to the court that the assignments were worth much more, in fact worth Rs. 23,10,000 a year.<sup>2</sup> This happened in the year 36. Soon after—probably as the result of the investigations started at this time—the revenues of the province of Kashmir were resumed by the crown.<sup>3</sup>

Any chance of the Jagirdars being anything more than collectors of land revenue in their Jagirs was made impossible by the frequent transfers of Jagirs. "These and other places, are given away by the king according to his pleasure to the captains he is inclined to favour. Some are changed every year or half year, or once in two or three years...Thus no captain can depend upon the place given to him..... The servants of the king have no security of any place." Thus wrote a Dutch factor in the twentieth year of Jahangir's reign.<sup>4</sup> The Persian chronicles are also full of the records of transfer of officials, from one place to another. As they were transferred they tried to see that their Jagirs were also changed. But in this they were not always successful. When Aurangzeb spent twenty-seven long years in the Deccan, the

<sup>1</sup> *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 72b.

<sup>2</sup> *Akbar Nama*, III, 595.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, III, 648.

<sup>4</sup> *De Jongh MS.*, pages 24 and 25.



Mughal officials, civil and military, serving there had not all their Jagirs in the south. Sometimes they tried to secure Jagirs there. But the Deccan was not large enough to support the entire Mughal administration. So in August 1703 an order was issued that cash payments should continue being made and no Jagirs be granted to any officer in the Imperial camp or in the Deccan without special orders of the emperor.<sup>1</sup>

The state helped its officials in times of need as well. Advances were made to them on furnishing adequate security.<sup>2</sup> An official appointed newly to a high command needed money and sometimes borrowed it from private money-lenders. There is a very interesting case reported in the *News Letters*. An official borrowed money on being appointed to high office. Before however he could actually take charge of the work, he died. The creditor thereupon complained to the emperor who ordered his successor to discharge the debt as his predecessor had mortgaged some official papers with his creditor.<sup>3</sup>

The frequent transfers of officials, and their Jagirs made the work of keeping accounts rather difficult. Not only were they transferred from one place to another, they were very often transferred from one department to another, from garrison duty to active command and the leadership of expeditions. These transfers often created confusion in accounts. When expeditions have to be organized, their leader would not wait for the audit certificates of the imperial

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 23-8-1703.

<sup>2</sup> *Ruqat-i-Hasan*, 48, 49.

<sup>3</sup> *Jaipur Records*, VIII, 169 to 174.



auditors and the emperors would be in too much hurry to insist on that. The result was that the settlement of accounts was not promptly made. The conduct of expedition would further result in complicating such accounts. We find Rustam Khan, for example, writing from Kabul to the emperor (Shah Jahan) detailing his expenses. He had 4500 men and he spent on them and other expenses Rs. 200,000 a month. He had received only Rs. 1,20,000 from his Jagir and had realized Rs. 1,20,000 from the imperial treasury in Kabul. He requested the emperor to send orders to the imperial Diwans in Lahore and Kabul to make him necessary payments in order to enable him to meet his monthly expenses. The amount thus advanced to him, he suggested, could be reimbursed from his Jagirs.<sup>1</sup> This was not an exceptional case. No wonder, then, that complication of accounts brought in its train the Mughal doctrine of escheat. When a Mansabdar died, naturally the State would like to have the accounts settled. The personal estate of the official mainly consisted of movable goods and may be his house. Immovable property bearing income did not exist as no one could acquire any right in the land; and building of houses for purposes of drawing rents was not very common and could be resorted to only in big cities. Thus if the state wanted its accounts squared, it had to prefer a claim to the movable property of the dead official. As there was the danger that his family might dispose it off, the state resorted to the custom

<sup>1</sup> *Haft Anjuman*, Part I, letter from Rustam Khan to Shah Jahan.



of seizing the official's property as soon as the news of his death spread. It stood as a security for whatever he may be owing to the State. Then began the settlement of accounts. With the Mansabdar dead it was possible for the revenue and military departments to spread those accounts and usually the whole property of the Mansabdar was swallowed therein. On their own side, the Mansabdars lived so well that very seldom did they leave much in their own houses which was not secured to some creditor. The payment of one's debts was a religious obligation, and not simply legal duty; but we know nothing about the way in which the State considered the claims on the estate of a dead Mansabdar by his creditors. If these were allowed to take precedence of the State's demands, not much would have been usually left for the State to claim as its own share for its dues. Thus arose the custom of escheat, zabti. As soon as a Mansabdar died, it was the duty of the Diwan-i-Bayutat or his representatives to take charge of the dead man's property, seal all his effects and wait for any order the emperor may like to give on any representation made by the bereaved family.

On his accession, Jahangir issued orders that whatever was the share of the orphans—of course after the State due had been exacted—be paid to them out of the property of their father.<sup>1</sup>

Aurangzeb's long stay in the Deccan complicated

<sup>1</sup> *Travels of Abdul Latif*, f. 11, 12.

Akbar had also issued similar orders earlier. The property of those who owed nothing to the State was not to be attached. *Mirat*, I, 185.



matters still further. It seems usually the accounts were settled every year. But when as usual the revenue ministry demanded the payment of Rs. 400 due to the State from a Mansabdar, Aziz Ullah Khan who had a Jagir of Rs. 40,000, made a representation to the emperor. On January 30, 1704, an order was thereupon issued that as long as he was serving in the Deccan the dues be not demanded.<sup>1</sup> It is likely that this was made into a precedent and other Mansabdars serving in the Deccan might have received similar relief. Settlement of accounts withheld for a long period must have created further complications and justified zabti.

Much has been said about the injustice and cruelty involved in this procedure.<sup>2</sup> Most of the sympathy shown for the dead nobles or their descendants is rather misplaced. To begin with, the wife—or rather the wives—of a noble never suffered much, as at the time of marriage, every Muslim women is allowed to claim a consideration from her husband. In the case of rich officials this was always a substantial sum and in those days when these officials kept large harems every member thereof must have managed to secure her dues herself. The marriage portion was hers by the Muslim Law and no institute set up by the Mughal emperors could override it. Then there were the children of these nobles. The emperors were almost always partial to the descendants of their

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 3-1-1704.

<sup>2</sup> Ovington, 197.

Cf. Hawkins, 104, 105, 112; Terry, 326, 327; Bernier, 5, 65, 164, 165, 212; Tavernier, 18; Mannuci, I, 205; Roe, 89; Pelsaert, 54, 55; Mandelso, 38; Ovington, 197.



officials whom they gave a generous start in life. Those who declaim loudly against the system of zabti should carefully read the list of grandees under Akbar and his successors when they would find the sons and the relatives of Mansabdars figuring so largely in the lists. Abdul Latif, writing early in the reign of Jahangir, tells us that Akbar cared for the children of the dead Mansabdars and brought them under his own protection.<sup>1</sup>

The trouble is that we do not possess evidence enough to assess the injustice, if any, done in this system to the descendants of a noble. But was any injustice involved at all? On what does the right of a descendant of a dead person to his property depend? Simply on the laws prevailing in the state. If these laws definitely limit the right of certain classes of people to their property to their lives alone, no one has a right to complain when he does not get what he never expected to possess. The persons concerned must have planned their lives fully knowing the existing laws effecting them, their property and their descendants.

Several cases recorded in the reign of Aurangzeb throw a welcome light on the process of zabti. On December 6, 1665, it was ordered that after settling the claims of the State whatever be left out of the escheated property of Maharban Khan be given to his descendants.<sup>2</sup> When Shaista Khan died, the government agent sent to take charge of his property gave away Rs. 8,000 in charity probably according to the

<sup>1</sup> *Travels*, 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 6-12-65.



last wishes of Shaista Khan. He was thereupon degraded on July 2, 1694.<sup>1</sup> In 1702 Luttaf Ullah Khan died. He owed Rs. 17,000 to the State. His elephants and horses were taken possession of by the State and the rest of his property was given to his son on October 7, 1702.<sup>2</sup> On November 11, 1694, the emperor bestowed the jagir of the late Janbar Khan on his descendants.<sup>3</sup>

But the Mughals seem to have been more than generous to their Mansabdars. Some of them at least received a pension on retirement. Muhammad Yar Khan, Governor of Delhi, resigned early in 1702 and on March 3, 1702 he was given a pension of Rs. 3,000 a year.<sup>4</sup> Soon after the Diwan of Delhi as well retired and on November, 1702 was given a pension of Rs. 2,000 a year.<sup>5</sup> Arz Khan was the Fojdar and commander of the garrison at Ranthanbore. He was summoned to the court on his retirement. He was too old to undertake the arduous journey to the imperial court. He had been a 500er. Rs. 4,000 a year were settled on him as his pension.<sup>6</sup> An old man applied for permission to retire as he could not, on account of his infirmities, discharge his duties. The permission to retire was withheld pending his attendance at court. He came. Aurangzeb satisfied himself that he was too old to continue usefully as a Mansabdar (100er) and on September 23, 1703 he

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 2-7-1694.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 7-10-1702.

<sup>3</sup> „ 11-11-94.

<sup>4</sup> „ 3-3-1702.

<sup>5</sup> „ 2-11-1702.

<sup>6</sup> „ 28-12-1703.



was given a Jagir of Rs. 500 a year.<sup>1</sup> Aqil Khan, we learn from another source, was given a pension of Rs. 12,000 a year on retirement.<sup>2</sup> Tarbiat Khan, a 3000er, resigned his Mansab and was granted a pension of Rs. 25,000 on October 15, 1666. Two Mansabdars from Kashmir were given similar grants on May 26, 1666. Mirza Beg, a 2500er, was given the revenue of a village worth Rs. 1,000 on August 24, 1681. Khwaja Musa was favoured with a grant of Rs. 20,000 on April 7, 1701. Mir Qutub-ud-Din, a 4000er, was given Rs. 2,000 a year on June 24, 1694. A Mansabdar of 200, a little later, was very fortunate as on retirement he was given a pension of Rs. 2,000 a year on June 28, 1694.<sup>3</sup> Pensions to the widows and the children of a deceased Mansabdar are referred to in an order of Aurangzeb in the *Kalimat*.<sup>4</sup> The *Abkam-i-Alamgiri* mentions a pension granted to a daughter of a dead Mansabdar.<sup>5</sup> Bernier's remarks are also worth quoting.

"The courtiers are often not even descendants of Omrahs, because, the King being heir of all their possessions, no family can long maintain its distinction, but, after the Omrah's death, is soon extinguished, and the sons, or at least the grandsons, reduced generally we might almost say, to beggary, and compelled to enlist as mere troopers in the cavalry of some Omrah. The King, however, usually bestows a small pension on the widow, and often on the family ;

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin* 23-9-1703.

<sup>2</sup> *Kalimat*, 167.

<sup>3</sup> *Court Bulletins* of the dates mentioned in the text.

<sup>4</sup> *Kalimat*, 91.

<sup>5</sup> *Abkam*, 16(a).



and if the Omrah's life be sufficiently prolonged, he may obtain the advancement of his children by royal favour, particularly if their persons be well formed, and their complexions sufficiently fair to enable them to pass for genuine Mogols."<sup>1</sup>

These Mansabdars led magnificent lives. 'The governor or Umaras of this place when they go to a garden or court, or another place, have an escort of 30 to 40 mounted and 40 to 50 foot soldiers. Some ride while others are carried in palankeens..... The magnates of the country keep great state.'<sup>2</sup> Daud Khan, Manucci tells us, spent Rs. 25,000 a year on his pet birds alone.<sup>3</sup>

Bernier tells us :—

"They maintain the splendour of the court, and are never seen out-of-doors but in the most superb apparel ; mounted sometimes on an elephant, sometimes on horse-back, and not unfrequently in a Paleky attended by many of their cavalry, and by a large body of servants on foot, who take their station in front, and at either side, of their lord, not only to clear the way, but to flap the files and brush off the dust with tails of peacocks ; to carry the picquedent or spittoon, water to allay the Omrah's thirst, and sometimes account books, and other papers."<sup>4</sup>

Pelsaert's account is very interesting.

'Their mahals are adorned internally with lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless festivity, super-

<sup>1</sup> Bernier, 211.

<sup>2</sup> De Jongh, 27.

<sup>3</sup> Manucci, IV, 255; Thevenot, 44.

<sup>4</sup> Bernier, 21.



fluous pomp, inflated pride, and ornamental daintiness.

'I shall now speak of the houses which are built here. They are noble and pleasant, with many apartments, but there is not much in the way of an upper story except a flat roof, on which to enjoy the evening air. There are usually gardens and tanks inside the house; and in the hot weather the tanks are filled daily with fresh water, drawn by oxen from wells. The water is drawn, or sometimes raised by a wheel, in such quantity that it flows through a leaden pipe and rises like a recreation unknown in our cold country. These houses last for a few years only, because the walls are built with mud instead of mortar, but the white plaster of the walls is very noteworthy, and far superior to anything in our country. They use unslaked lime, which is mixed with milk, gum, and sugar into a thin paste. When the walls have been plastered with lime, they apply this paste, rubbing it with well-designed trowels until it is smooth; then they polish it steadily with agates, perhaps for a whole day, until it is dry and hard, and shines like alabaster, or can even be used as a looking-glass.

'They have no furniture of the kind we delight in, such as tables, stocks, benches, cupboards, bedsteads, etc.; but their cots, or sleeping places, and other furniture of kinds unknown in our country, are lavishly ornamented with gold or silver, and they use more gold and silver in serving food than we do, though nearly all of it is used in the mahal, and is seen by scarcely anybody except women. Outside



the mahal, there is only the diwan-khana, or sitting-place, which is spread with handsome carpets, and kept very clean and neat. Here the lord takes his seat in the morning to attend to his business, whatever it is, and here all his subordinates come to salam him.<sup>1</sup>

Muhammad Arif Qandahari describes a lunch to which one of Akbar's officers invited the emperor. The ceremony observed, the dishes served, the carpets and curtains displayed, were all the last thing in magnificence.<sup>2</sup> Islam Khan, a Governor of Bengal under Jahangir, is said to have spent Rs. 100,000 a year on dancing girls alone.<sup>3</sup> Bernier thus described a good house. 'The interior of a good house has the whole floor covered with a cotton mattress from four inches in thickness over which a fine white cloth is spread during the summer, a silk carpet in the winter. At the most conspicuous side of the chamber are one or two mattresses with fine covering quilted in the form of flowers and ornamented with delicate silk embroidery, interspersed with gold and silver. Each mattress has a large cushion of brocade to lean upon and there are other cushions placed round the room covered with brocade, velvet, or flowered satin..... The sides of the room are full of niches, cut in a variety of shapes, in which are seen procelain vases and flowers. The ceiling is gilt and painted.'<sup>4</sup> Asaf Khan gave a dinner in honour of Shah Jahan. Special seats

<sup>1</sup> Pelsaert, 66.

<sup>2</sup> Muhammad Arif Qandahari, pp. 216 to 226.

<sup>3</sup> *Subh Sadiq*, 1980a.

<sup>4</sup> Bernier, 248.



with gold and silver embroidery were provided for. In the four corners of the room were stands supporting gold vessels. Sweet perfumes were being burnt in silver scent burners. At the entrance was a water fountain. It threw scented water in a silver tub which remained half full and provided water for washing the feet and the hands of the guests. There were two seats of gold cloth, the rest of silver. The dinner lasted four hours. At the end Asaf Khan presented three gold vessels full of precious stones worth seven hundred thousand rupees.<sup>1</sup> Mandelslo thus bears witness to their splendour, 'There is no king in Europe that has so noble a court as the governor of Gujarat, not any that appears in public with greater magnificence.'<sup>2</sup>

The Mughal officials were not supposed to pay any ordinary taxes. They owned no landed property for which they could be asked to pay the land revenue. The land belonged to the cultivators. No income tax as such seems to have been levied on them. But if by tax we mean compulsory payments made to the state, the officials paid a very large amount of money. Irvine has described some of the payments made by the officials out of their salaries.<sup>3</sup> The Mughals seem to have followed the present custom with regard to the payment of the Income Tax and sometimes deducted the taxes out of the salaries of their public servants. In the shape of 'fraction of two dams' 'expenses of minting' 'days of moon's rise,' and the 'maintenance

<sup>1</sup> Manrique, II, 213 to 219.

<sup>2</sup> Mandelslo, 48.

<sup>3</sup> Irvine.



expenses for imperial stables' the public servants parted with their salaries as follows:

	from	to
1. Two dams (an income tax) .. .. .	5%	10%
2. Minting charges .. .. .	1½%	1¾%
3. Days of moon's rise .. .. .	3.3%	3.3%
4. Imperial stables (from those above 4000) .. .. .		

The Jagirdars however usually paid these taxes after realizing their income from their Jagirs. This sometimes created difficulties. On July 18, 1702 we find the emperor ordering the Bakhshis to deduct the last tax from the Jagirs outright<sup>1</sup> i.e., to decrease the Jagirs of the Mansabdars by the amount of the tax. This seems to have been applicable to the Mansabdars below 2000. On June 17, 1703 an order was given that Mansabdars of 2000 and above be ordered to keep agents at the court who should be responsible for the payment of the fodder tax.<sup>2</sup>

A rather curious custom existed with regard to tips. When the emperor was very much pleased with any Mansabdar or when a Mansabdar was appointed to a high office, it was customary to send a dish from the imperial table to him. This 'gracious pleasure' of the emperor cost the recipient about Rs. 100 which he had to pay to the messenger who brought the dish. The tip received was credited to the imperial treasury; sometimes if the emperor was pleased he allowed

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 18-7-1702.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 17-6-1703.



the messenger to retain the whole or a part thereof. Sometimes the tips were returned to their givers.<sup>1</sup> Jahangir remitted the bridle money which every public servant had to pay when he was given a horse or an elephant as a present.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from these taxes the public servants had to make valuable presents to the emperor. An imperial audience always involved the presentation of some thing that would interest the emperor. On the New Year's Days and the Birth Days of the emperor every public servant present in the court had to make a present to the emperor. Of course the emperor also never forgot them. Gifts from the royal treasury were often sent on auspicious occasions to all public servants.

There were standing office orders regulating the procedure in the offices. All heads of department were required to be present in their office till midday whereas their subordinates had to attend office till the afternoon.<sup>3</sup> As now, sometimes officials would like to transact their business at their own homes. This was strictly forbidden.<sup>4</sup>

The Mansabdar system was a method of organizing the royal military forces as well. Of course, as we have already seen, it originated in the imperial need to define the number of men every military officer was to keep. Within eight years this broke down and a divergence appeared in the personal numerical rank

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletins*, 2-7-1702, 23-7-1702, 5-2-1703, 27-5-66.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs*, I, 40.

<sup>3</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 23-3-1702.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 6-9-1681.



of a Mansabdar and the number of soldiers he led to the field. This divergence at last compelled Akbar in his forty-second year to create grades in the same rank according to the number of soldiers an officer actually commanded.<sup>1</sup> The word Swar was not a technical term. It simply described a fact. A Panj Hazari Hazar Swar did not imply two separate offices of a Mansabdar. It simply implied that the official was paid the salary of a 5000er and was expected to bring into the field one thousand soldiers. How long this continued we do not know. Akbar seems to have enforced his own regulations and insisted by means of branding of horses and descriptive rolls of men that the public servants actually maintained the contingent they were supposed to lead and were paid for from the treasury. Moreland has suggested that during the general laxity in administration on Jahangir's accession these rules came to be violated and the public servants did not keep the number of horses they were paid for.<sup>2</sup> The accounts of Jahangir's reign however do not bear this out entirely. Of course we have the suggestive fact that when on the submission of Rana Amar Singh, the mansab of 5000er and 5000 horses was conferred on Karn, all that stipulated was that the Rana should keep at the imperial court a contingent of 1500 horses.<sup>3</sup> We have to remember, however, that the position of the Rana of Udaipur was peculiar; alone of all the Rajas of

<sup>1</sup> *Akbar Nama*, III, 671.

<sup>2</sup> *J.R.A.S.*, October, 1936.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Vir Vinod* for Jahangir's Farman conferring on Karn the rank mentioned above.



Hindustan he refused to advance his fortune by serving on the staff of the Mughal emperor. The rank conferred on him simply represented a 'book account.' He submitted to the Mughal emperor. So his territory in theory became imperial. It was given back to him by creating him a Jagirdar of these very districts of his own. The contingent of 1500 horses had to be maintained by him out of his own revenue. So the fact that Karn, though a Panch Hazari with 5000 soldiers, was to lead only 1500 horses need not have much significance. There are other cases as well where we have Mansabdars almost maintaining just the number for which they were paid. We can only say that some laxity did set in during his reign.

In the reign of Shah Jahan salaries of personal ranks and those given on behalf of soldiers maintained were lessened by 25%. This seems to have been done in the eleventh year of his reign. We have a table of salaries dated April 25, 1638 preserved in the *Dastur-ul-Amal Todar Mal* and the *Farhang-i-Kar Dani*.<sup>1</sup> Further he issued general regulations for the purpose of legalizing the departure between the Swar rank of an officer and his command. It was decided that if a Mansabdar had his Jagir in the same province he was to bring  $\frac{1}{3}$  of his nominal command (Swar) to the muster, otherwise one fourth. To the expeditions sent outside India only one fifth of the number of soldiers indicated by the Swar rank were

<sup>1</sup> *Farhang*, 21a to 23b.

A comparison of the Table of Salaries proves however that the decrease was much larger. See above.



to be brought to the field.<sup>1</sup>

Under Aurangzeb this regulation seems to have been continued. Aurangzeb generally required his officers to get one fifth the number of the Swars indicated by their Swar ranks branded.<sup>2</sup> Some Mansabdars however were asked to bring one fourth the number of their Swar rank.<sup>3</sup> But this only indicated the lowermost limits of the scale. We have for example Firoz Jung, a Haft Hazari (7000 or 7000 horses) bringing into the field a contingent of 3426 horses and 3250 foot on November 20, 1702.<sup>4</sup> An humbler public servant holding the rank of 500 or 500 horses had a contingent of 200 horses and 300 foot.<sup>5</sup> Tarbiat Khan led a contingent of horses where the total number of soldiers indicated by the Swar rank was 12850. According to the above he should have led 2570 horses, whereas we find him leading 4069 soldiers.<sup>6</sup>

The trouble was that the Mughal State, in order not to be defrauded without putting the Mansabdars to a too great inconvenience, adopted various methods of covering some of its institutional fictions. A man may be asked to have 500 Swars ready but be actually paid for them anything from a month's to a full year's salary.<sup>7</sup> Under such varying conditions by a rather complicated system of accounting the Mughal em-

<sup>1</sup> *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 228, 229.

<sup>2</sup> *Court Bulletins*, 26-12-76, 6-5-1702.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 31-3-67, 17-4-95.

<sup>4</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 20-9-1702.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 17-6-1704.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 6-7-1704.

<sup>7</sup> *Farhang*, 24a.



peror must have secured that they paid only for the number of soldiers actually led by their public servants. They were too clever to suffer such a fraud as to pay a public servant for 1000 horses whereas he was expected to bring into the field only 200. They must have secured that they paid no more than the salary due for the maximum the leader was expected to bring into the field. As suggested above a very easy method of securing it was by paying the officers for a shorter number of months than 12.

But there is reason to believe that the Mughal emperor paid for the actual number of soldiers a Mansabdar got branded. An imperial order issued on August 31, 1703 laid down that the Mansabdars should have their horses branded and receive from the Superintendent in charge of these operations the Dagh Nama. This was to be sent to the emperor who would grant a Jagir according to the Dagh Nama<sup>1</sup> i.e., according to the number of horses the Mansabdar had got branded. If this represents general practices of the period, it is clear that the Mughal emperors only paid for the horses that the Mansabdar got branded.

Under Aurangzeb branding of horses came to be very much in discount. On August 19, 1694 an order was issued that all Rajput Chiefs holding the rank of a 2000er or above need not have their horses

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 31-8-1703.

Earlier on June 26, 1703 when the Superintendent of Branding had reported about the shortage of men in Bihar, orders were given to realize the excess money paid to the Mansabdars.

पं० इन्द्र विद्यावाचस्पति स्मृति संग्रह



branded.<sup>1</sup> Later on all Mughal officials were excused Dagb if their ranks were above 3000.<sup>2</sup> In the south under the constant warfare to which the Mansabdars were subjected it seemed most of the higher public servants also got themselves excused from branding their horses.<sup>3</sup>

The army that the Mansabdars made available for imperial service was a heterogeneous collection. It represented a grouping together of isolated units rather than a well organized fighting machine. In 1637 there were 8000 Mansabdars and 185000 horsemen ready for service entertained by Shah Jahan.<sup>4</sup> Now the 185000 horsemen owed allegiance to their own individual commanders and may have all been differently organized. When a military expedition was sent, its members of course acknowledged the officer appointed as a commander-in-chief as their leader but there was always a want of cohesion among the various leaders. Personal jealousies, mutual bickering, difficulties about nice points of precedence many a time created, and added to, the difficulties of the Mughals. Under such conditions no team work could be expected. We find this illustrated in the Mughal expeditions sent to various parts of Bengal under Jahangir and in the armies sent across the frontier to conquer Qandahar, Balkh, and Badakhshan.<sup>5</sup> Every commander wanted to distinguish

<sup>1</sup> *Court Bulletin*, 19-8-1694.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> The *Court Bulletins* are full of such orders.

<sup>4</sup> *Badshah Nama*, II, 715.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Babaristan-i-Ghaibi* and *Lataif-ul-Akhabar* for the quarrels that disfigured the conduct of Mughal expedition to Qandahar and the expeditions in Bengal.



himself rather than make the expeditions successful.

The numbers the Mughal emperor could bring into the field or did actually bring cannot be definitely ascertained. If the figures of Akbar's reign as given in the *Ain* are to be our guide 138 living Mansabdars of 500 and above in about 1590 could have been asked to bring into the field a force of 2,03,850 horses.

The amount spent by the Mughal Emperor in maintaining their public services cannot be easily estimated. Here we have to remember that Jagirs and the cash salaries granted to Mansabdars were not payment for the salaries of the public servants alone. The Mansabdars were paid for their military contingents as well. Taking the rates of salaries in Akbar's time when the *Ain* was compiled Akbar's public servants cost the State Rs. 15,953,950 a year.

The nature of the Mansabdar organization has often been misunderstood. Contemporary European observers discovered in the Jagirs a superficial resemblance to the feudal organization of government in Europe and handed down the tradition that the Mansabdars were great feudal nobles. As we have already seen Mansabdars were nothing of the kind. They had no rights in the land except to collect the land revenue due to the State in lieu of their salaries fixed in cash. Their Jagirs imposed on them no other duties and were frequently changed. As we have seen above a very large number of public servants received salaries in cash. Whatever the origin, in its later stages a Mansab by itself did not involve any military duties. It was only when a public servant was specifically asked to maintain and was paid for a



certain number of men that he became a military leader. Otherwise he was a public servant paid so much a month in the terms of his contract. Whereas feudalism created a hereditary class based on the accident of an ancestor having rendered some notable service to the monarchy, the Mughal Mansabdar was a public servant paid for his own actual worth to the state rather than that of some far off ancestor of his. Most of the criticism of the system is based on this false analogy.

It is customary to speak of the Mughal nobles. That again is due not only to the term first made familiar by contemporary European writers but also to the wrong translation of the technical terms, Amir and Amir-i-Azam. The European writers were familiar with their own customs where a nobility of birth was utilized in the service of the State in contemporary Europe. Though Bernier clearly brings out the difference, he was more concerned with tracing the origins of these Mughal public servants than describing the system that prevailed there. Though the European writers sometimes described them as nobles some of them do bring out the distinction between Mughal public servants and European nobles of the time.

This apparent abuse of the term noble was magnified when Persian texts came to be translated. Public servants in general were divided into three classes, Mansabdars, Amirs, and Umrai Kabir. The last two classes came to be comprehended in the term nobles and were thus translated. It is a correct literary translation but it mars the technical sense



involved in the two terms. If we used the modern terminology and called the three divisions as a Subordinate Service, a Provincial Service, and an Imperial Service we would be conveying the contents of these terms better. In no sense did they form a nobility. As well call the Indian Civil Servants nobles! The Mughal system was averse to creating any distinctions by birth. As genius could not be ordinarily handed down by father to son, the Mughal emperors refused to go out of their way and recognise any rights of the sons to positions in the public services on account of the services of their fathers and relatives. Herein, if they departed from the contemporary European and Asiatic standards, they came very near modern methods of recruitment of the services. If there were no public competitive examinations, the way was open to talent to catch the emperor's eye and find an opportunity to serve the State.

Much of the criticism of the Mughal Public Services were inspired by wrong analogies. Some of the charges levelled against the system can as well be levelled against the organization of most public services in the world today. That it was not hereditary, as Bernier lamented, was an advantage rather than a shortcoming. That the State levied a death duty which might sometimes amount to the confiscation of the entire estate of a Mansabdar meant redistribution of wealth. It has yet to be proved by definite examples that the descendants of any Mansabdar were actually left in want as the result of the operation of the system of Zabti. We have already seen that under Akbar the surplus of the estate after



realizing the State due was handed over to the successors of the bereaved family. Jahangir repeated these orders. Those who lament that the Zabti made it impossible for a strong nobility (?) to arise seem to be overlooking several important factors. A nobility of birth is never an unmixed blessing and it has yet to be proved that it would have ensured better results in India than it did elsewhere. Further, as it was, the disintegration of the Mughal Empire was partially due to its overmighty public servants. Is it contended that had they been stronger they would have proved more useful (to themselves or the Mughal Empire?)

It will have however to be admitted that the Mughal public servants were paid inordinately high salaries for a country where living was so cheap. Most of their allowances however were usually spent in the country. Whatever the land of their origin, the public servants made India their home. The example of the emperor made them live in a style which usually made them run into debt. Most of their money was spent on their huge harems in which they delighted. Yet many of them were keen students and patronized all sorts of studies. We have Bernier's employer who even in camp could not do without his study of Greek Philosophy. There was Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana whose patronage of men of learning gives him a unique place among public servants, ancient and modern. There were others under whose wings painting, music, dancing, architecture and other arts found a shelter. They encouraged trade and industry. If an imported article



caught their fancy, it was always their desire to have it matched here in India. Their demands kept the royal workshops in various parts of the country work overtime. They loved hunting and open sports of all kinds. It is true that if they had spent less on their harems, if they had been given less to useless pomp and show they might have stopped the rot that set in the Mughal empire.

In the later stages several new evils appeared in the system. Akbar had made several experiments in appointing joint holders of a single office. As his biographer tells us the experiment was meant for providing a man on the spot if the governor happened to be called to the court or fell ill. Under Aurangzeb however joint commands of expeditions were used for the purpose of making the colleagues spy on each other. This sapped all sense of responsibility among them. Worse than this, was the system of multiple offices which was favoured by Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. To begin with, the princes, but later on others in high favour, were appointed to hold at one and the same time a plurality of offices. Of course they could hold some of them by appointing deputies. Now this blocked the path of advancement to real talent. When an officer was appointed to hold more than one office he appointed as his deputies his own men rather than promote men of ability from among other public servants. Sons, brothers, or other relatives were usually appointed to discharge the routine duties of some of the minor offices which might have been thus combined. Even the initiative of these deputies was not given much chance. As



the substantive holder of the office alone was responsible to the emperor they had to depend on him for orders on every major issue rising in administration.



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## THE GĀTHĀS OF ZARATHUŠTRA:

YASNA HĀ 29

By DR. MANILAL PATEL, Ph.D.

In the whole of the Avestan literature the place occupied by the *Gāthās* is unique. That they are, in the main, the *dicta prophetae* of Zarathuštra, and, admittedly, the oldest literary monument of the Iranian people marks them out as the most important texts of the Zoroastrian religion. A study of these texts is therefore rightly considered indispensable for a student of the Avesta and of comparative Religion. It is none the less so for that of the Veda and of Linguistics owing, as is well known, to the striking affinities between the Gāthic dialect and the Vedic Sanskrit.

And yet it is sadly true that notwithstanding the rapid strides which have been made in the knowledge of Indo-Iranian philology and culture since the time when the Avesta first became the subject of scientific study and research on modern lines, the task of interpreting the *Gāthās* has still remained baffling to the Avestan scholar. Fresh attempts, therefore, are permissible. In the following, I have adhered, as far as possible, to the principles of Gāthic interpretation as enunciated by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings*, The Fifth Oriental Indian Conference, Lahore, 1930, Vol. I, pp. 199ff.



in a paper read at the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference, held at Lahore. Previous translations have been carefully studied and their results utilized, with due recognition, wherever necessary. Taking Geldner's text<sup>1</sup> as a basis, and bearing in mind the *Urttext* as fixed by Andreas-Wackernagel,<sup>2</sup> I have attempted to reconstruct the Gāthic verses so that the metrical requirements have been met and 'a tendency to introduce prothetic and other vowels, to amplify simple vowels into diphthongs and even introduce wholly needless and redundant vowels in the middle of words'<sup>3</sup> has been detected and done away with. In point of interpretation, though the modern philological methods are adopted, I have always remembered that the Gāthās represent, in most parts, the inspired words of a *spiritual* teacher, of a Poet-Prophet. No prejudice, moreover, is entertained against the traditional *Pahlavi* interpretations<sup>4</sup> whose value, so far as the Gāthās are concerned, is, however, considerably limited.<sup>5</sup> Both in the transliteration and the translation, hypermetrical and otherwise unnecessary letters

<sup>1</sup> *Avestā, the Sacred Books of the Parsis*, edited by Karl. F. Geldner, Stuttgart, 1896, Part I.

<sup>2</sup> *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Abbr. NGWG.), Phil. Hist. Klasse, 1913, pp. 363-385. These pages cover Ys. 28, 29, and 32. For a brief enunciation of the method of Andreas-Wackernagel, see Taraporewala, *ibid.*, pp. 200f.

<sup>3</sup> Taraporewala, *ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>4</sup> For these, I have solely depended on Bartholomae's *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (AW.), Strassburg, 1904, and Mill's *Gāthās*, Leipsic, 1894.

<sup>5</sup> For a correct appreciation of the value of the Pahlavi interpretations, see Geldner, *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* (GIP.), II, §§ 42ff., pp. 46ff.



or words have been indicated by [ ], and those claiming insertion on grammatical or other grounds are bracketed ( ). Numbers and punctuations are used in the transliterated text so as to facilitate the understanding of the translation. All the alterations have been fully explained in the notes.

\* \* \* \* \*

To come to *Yasna Hā*<sup>1</sup> 29, the subject-matter of the present study.

The *Gāthās* are said to be five and each one of these has its own name derived from the opening word.<sup>2</sup> The first one is called *Abunavaiti* because, in its *original form*, the *Abuna-Vairya*<sup>3</sup> prayer formed its opening verse. The present arrangement, based on tradition, is, therefore, slightly incongruous. Another incongruity in the present order of the *Ahunavaiti*<sup>4</sup> is, as already pointed out by Mills,<sup>5</sup> that *Yasna Hā* 29, usually put second, ought, in the fitness of things, to occupy the first place, while *Hā* 28 should come second. This is clearly borne out by the contents of both the *Hās*. In *Hā* 29 it is allegorically reported that the 'soul of the cow,' personifying 'Mother-Earth,' approaches Ahura Mazda and complains of the terrible outrages committed on her by the evil-doers and the unbelievers. Thereupon, on

<sup>1</sup> *Hā*, *Hāiti*—'Chapter.'

<sup>2</sup> For details, see Poure Davoud, *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra*, Bombay, 1927, Introduction (Eng. translation by D. J. Irani), pp. 41f.

<sup>3</sup> According to the traditional arrangement, Y. 27, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Ys. 28-34.

<sup>5</sup> *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXI, p. 4.



the suggestion of Vohu Manah, Zarathuštra is appointed as the Protector by the Wise Lord. As, therefore, Hā 29 deals symbolically with the preparations in heaven for Zarathuštra's mission before he attained the full status of Prophet, it should naturally precede Hā 28 in which Zarathuštra already appears upon earth and begins his work as Saviour.

Every stanza (*vacastašti*-) of the Gāthā Ahunavaitī consists of three lines (*afsmān*-) each having two *pādas* and 16 syllables. The *caesura* occurs at the end of the seventh syllable ; e.g. :

<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup>  
*at-cā gəuš urvā raostā | yē anaēšam xsənmmōnē rādəm ||*  
 Y. 29, 9ab.

This scheme of versification reminds one of the *Anuṣṭubh* metre of the Vedas. The only difference is that the latter has two lines, each of the two *pādas* regularly consisting of 8 syllables. That is to say, each verse of the Ahunavaitī is in length equal to one *anuṣṭubh* verse and a half, or to two *gāyatrī* verses. It is safe to contend, therefore, that both the Gāthic and the Vedic metres are of the same Indo-Iranian type and have their origin in an earlier Indo-European tradition.<sup>1</sup>

*Stanza 1 :*

- (a) xśmaibyā<sup>1</sup> gəuš<sup>2</sup> urvā<sup>3</sup> gərəzdā<sup>4</sup> :  
 (b) ' kahmāi<sup>5</sup> mā<sup>6</sup> ʒwar[ō]zdūm<sup>7</sup> ? kə<sup>8</sup> mā<sup>9</sup>  
           taśat<sup>10</sup> ?  
 (c) ā<sup>11</sup> mā<sup>12</sup> aēš[ə]mō<sup>13</sup> hazas<sup>14</sup>. cā<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Meillet, *Les origines indo-européennes des metres grecques* ; cf. Arnold, *Vedic Metre*, § 65; Childe, *The Aryans*, p. 5.



- (d) rəmō<sup>16</sup>[ā]<sup>17</sup> hiśāyā<sup>18</sup> dərəś<sup>19</sup>[cā]<sup>20</sup> təviś<sup>21</sup>.cā.<sup>22</sup>  
 (e) nōi<sup>23</sup> mōi<sup>24</sup> vāstā<sup>25</sup> xśmat<sup>26</sup> anyō<sup>27</sup>.  
 (f) aḥā<sup>28</sup> [mōi]<sup>29</sup> sṣtā<sup>30</sup> vohū<sup>31</sup> vāstr(i)yā<sup>32</sup>.

*Translation :*

To-you<sup>1</sup> the Soul<sup>3</sup> of-the-Cow<sup>2</sup> complained<sup>4</sup> :  
 'For-whom<sup>5</sup> did-you-fashion<sup>7</sup> me<sup>6</sup> ? Who<sup>8</sup> created<sup>10</sup>  
 me<sup>9</sup> ? Passion<sup>13</sup> and<sup>15</sup> violence<sup>14</sup>, blood-thirstiness<sup>16</sup>,  
 outrage<sup>19</sup> and<sup>22</sup> force<sup>21</sup> oppress<sup>11,18</sup> me<sup>12</sup>. Not<sup>23</sup> for-  
 me<sup>24</sup> (is there) a shepherd<sup>25</sup> other<sup>27</sup> than-you<sup>26</sup>.  
 Procure<sup>30</sup>, therefore<sup>28</sup>, good<sup>31</sup> things-of-pasturage<sup>32</sup>.'

*Notes<sup>1</sup> :*

The Hā seems to open rather abruptly, which  
 strengthens the theory that the Gāthās were originally  
 interspersed by sections of prose pieces. So also

<sup>1</sup> The main abbreviations used in the notes are explained  
 below :—

- |                    |    |                                                                                                            |
|--------------------|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Bartholomae, Chr.  | .. | <i>Arische Forschungen</i> , 1-3; Halle,<br>1879 (AF).                                                     |
|                    |    | <i>Die Gāthā's des Avesta</i> , Strass-<br>burg, 1905 (GA).                                                |
| Bharucha, E. S. D. | .. | <i>A Brief Sketch of the Zoroastrian<br/>Religion and Customs</i> , 2nd Edi-<br>tion, Bombay, 1903 (SZRC). |
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| Geldner            | .. | <i>Vedische Studien (Vst.)</i> .<br><i>Glossar-Rigveda (Gloss.)</i> .                                      |
| Grassmann          | .. | <i>Wörterbuch des Rigveda (WR.)</i> .                                                                      |
| Neisser            | .. | " zum "                                                                                                    |
| Moulton            | .. | <i>Early Zoroastrianism</i> , London,<br>1913 (EZ).                                                        |
| Meillet            | .. | <i>Trois Conférences sur les Gāthā de<br/>l' Avesta</i> , Paris, 1925 ( <i>Troi<br/>Conf.</i> ).           |

Other abbreviations are those commonly known, and  
 given in Bartholomae's *AW*.



Smith, *Studies*, p. 66. Cf. the beginning of the Hā 28. For the discussion of the theory, see Geldner *GIP.*, II, p. 29; Bartholomae, *GA.*, IV-V; Meillet, *Troi Conf.*, pp. 39-52.

(a) *xsmaibyā*—Ved. *yuṣmābhyam*. The use of pl. here is enigmatic. Smith's suggestion (*Studies*, § 52) that the 'aspects' may have been mentioned in a preceding prose passage, now lost, may be accepted. Cf. Y. 29, 10ab; 32, 2 and 3; 34, 7; 43, 11cde; 43, 13cde; and 44, 17bc.

*gāuš urvā*—lit. 'soul of cow.' For various interpretations, see Dhalla, *ZT.*, p. 44 and footnotes thereto. Taraporewala (*MMV.*, p. 294), 'in accord with the idea that the Gāthās are spiritual, not agricultural,' translates this as 'Soul of Mother-Earth.' Bharucha (*SZRC.*, p. 48) sees in *gāuš urvā* the personification of the whole living world. Compare with this the Hindu belief that the cow represents the earth: ŚB. II, 2, 1, 21; XII, 9, 2, 11. Hertel (*AO.*, V, p. 50): 'Lebenslicht.' For the details of the part played by Gāuš Urvan, see Gray: *The Foundations of the Iranian Religions*, pp. 79-82.

*gāuš*—Ved. *gōs*, gen. sg. of *go*- 'cow.' The etymology of *urvā* is not clear; it may be from *Ār. \*(s)runan-*. Jackson (*GIP.*, II, p. 674) derives *urvā* from *√var-* 'to choose': this is, in Bartholomae's opinion (*AW.* col. 1451), wrong; so also *WZKM.* 9, 382. However, Casartelli accepts Jackson's derivation (see his paper in *A Volume of Oriental Studies* (pp. 127f.) presented to E. G. Brown, Cambridge, 1922). Phl. *rwān*, MP. *ravān*, Skt. Tr. *ātmā*.

*garəzdā*—impf. mid. 3 sg., *√garəz-* 'to complain,'



Ved.  $\sqrt{\text{garh-}}$  'to complain, to rebuke' ; West Osset.  $\text{vārzun}$  'to groan.' Cf. MP. *gila* 'complain.'

(b)  $\text{ṣwarzdūm}$ —Geldner's text has  $\text{ṣwarōzdūm}$  which reading has been respected by Smith, Bartholomae and Reichelt; the last-named scholar has, however, recognised  $-\bar{o}-$  to be anaptyctic (*AE.*, §151). That this  $-\bar{o}-$  is hypermetrical will be easily admitted; see MS. K 37. Further, cf. Andreas-Wackernagel's reconstruction  $\text{ṣwurzdūm}$ : *NGWG.* 1913, pp. 370-371. The form is *s*-aor. mid. 2 pl. of  $\sqrt{\text{ṣwaras-}}$  'to cut, carve, fashion, give a shape to.' Etymology of this root is hardly traceable. Phl. Tr. *brītan* (of Y. 29; 57; V. 3, 7). Cf. Ved.  $\sqrt{\text{tvaks-}}$  'to fashion, to carve.'

$\text{kā mā taśat}$  (impf. 3 sg.  $\sqrt{\text{taś-}}$  'to hew, chop, fashion, shape, form,' Ved.  $\sqrt{\text{takes-}}$ )—'who created me?'—the question induces  $\text{taśā gāuš}$  (stanza 2a), 'the Creator of Cow,' to reply the first question:  $\text{kahmāi mā ṣwarzdūm}$ , cf. Bartholomae, *AF.* 3, 23; Andreas-Wackernagel: *NGWG.* 1931, p. 319.

(c)  $\text{aēśmō}$ —(Pd. H<sub>1</sub>. J<sub>7</sub>. K<sub>11</sub>). The reading adopted in Geldner's text and followed by Smith, Bartholomae and Reichelt in their respective treatments is  $\text{aēśmō}$ . The hypermetrical  $-\bar{a}-$  needs hardly any comment. The form is nom. sg. meaning 'anger, passion, wrath, fury,' from  $\sqrt{\text{aēs-}}$  'to move oneself quickly,' Ved.  $\sqrt{\text{īs-}}$ . MP.  $\text{xīsm}$ ,  $\text{xāsm}$  (cf. Hübschmann: *PS.* 142) 'anger' ; cf. Gk. *oima* (*BB.* 4, 334; *KZ.* 29, 83; 30, 296); Lat. *īra*, Gk. *oisiros* 'mad desire, frenzy' and Lith. *aistra* 'passion, ardour' are also quoted as cognates (Boisacq. *Dictionnaire*, p. 693; Walde, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 392-3; Muller, *Wörterbuch*, p.



162; Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, i, 106-7. Phl. Tr. *ēśm* (cf. Hübschmann, *PS.* 142); Skt. Tr. *krodha-* m., *kopa-* m., *āmarṣa-* m., *kopālu-* adj.

*baṛas. cā*—neu. nom. sg. 'violence, force': Ved. *sābas-* neu. The substantive is formed from  $\sqrt{baṛ}$ - 'to lay hold of, to get possession of'; Ved.  $\sqrt{sab-}$ , Gk. *skbēs*, *iskō-*.

(d) Nos. 17 and 20 are superfluous on metrical grounds; that *ā* (17) before *hiśāyā* is unnecessary is further clear from the fact that the verbal preposition *ā* (No. 11) stands already at the beginning of the sentence—which is its proper place; see, for instance Y. 31, 8d; 31, 13f; cf. Andreas-Wackernagel *ibid.*, 1931, pp. 317-318; and Geldner's Footnote to his text: 'according to metre *hiśāyā* should be restored.' It would therefore be more appropriate to dispense with *ā* (No. 17) and *cā* (No. 20) than to propose the elimination of *ramō*, declaring it to be an old gloss (Bartholomae, *AW.*, col. 1528; Reichelt, *AR.*, p. 186; Smith, *Studies*, p. 66).

*ramō*—mas. nom. sg. 'cruelty, blood-thirstiness,' occurs only twice in the Gāthās: here and in Y. 48, 7. Phl. Tr. *arask* (cf. Y. 48, 7) 'envy'; Skt. Tr. *īśyālu manusyaḥ*; *īśyāluḥ*. Bartholomae (*AW.*, col. 1528) is not certain about the etymology of the word (cf. Geldner, *KZ.* 30, 531). Hertel (*AO.*, V, p. 50), however, asserts that *rāma-*, *rama-* belongs to *rāna-* 'fighter,' cf. Ved. *rāṇa-* 'battle.'

*hiśāyā*—perf. act. 3 sg.  $\sqrt{hāy-}$ ,  $\sqrt{hā(y)-}$  'to chain up, bind, fetter'; with *ā*: 'to oppress, to harass': Ved.  $\sqrt{so-}$  (*syāti*; *siṣāya*; *sitāḥ*). On the Avestan base *baya-* and the Vedic base *sya-*, see Bartholomae, *IF.*,



10, 197. Cf. MP. *gušāyad* 'he opens.'

*daraś*—fem. nom. sg. 'assault, outrage,' from  $\sqrt{darś}$ - 'to dare,' Ved.  $\sqrt{dhr̥ś}$ -, cf. Ved. inf. *ādhr̥še*. Phl. Tr. *darritār*; Skt. Tr. *dārayitā* and explanation: *yo me jīvavighātakam kurute*.

*taviš*—(used only here) fem. nom. sg. 'force, brutality,' cf. *taviši* 'physical strength.' Phl. Tr. *tirftār*-, Skt. Tr. *stenah*. Meillet (*Journ. des Sav.* 1902, 388) sees in *tavišcā* a graphic mutilation of *\*tayušcā* (from *tāyu*- 'thief'). But Bartholomae differs (*AW.*, col. 649).

(f) It is proposed—first by Andreas-Wackernagel (*ibid.*, 1913, p. 371), then followed by Smith (*Studies*, p. 67)—that to suit the metrical requirements *aḡā* be amended as *aṭ*. This is, however, unnecessary. On the other hand we have to eliminate *mōi* (No. 29) which has been mistakenly inserted under the influence of the Pāda (e).

Cf. Vr. 15, 1 : *+varəz yatəm. cā iḡa vohu vās-trya*.

*sastā*—s-aor. act. 2 pl. of  $\sqrt{sand}$ - 'to create, procure.' Geldner (*BB.* 14, 28):  $\sqrt{sand}$ - 'to make'; Hertel (*AO.*, V, p. 50): 'to radiate,' 'beam' ('strahlen').

#### Stanza 2 :

- (a) *adā*<sup>1</sup> *tašā*<sup>2</sup> *gəuš*<sup>3</sup> *pərəsa*<sup>4</sup>
- (b) *aśəm*<sup>5</sup> : *kaḡā*<sup>6</sup> *tōi*<sup>7</sup> *gavōi*<sup>8</sup> *ratus*<sup>9</sup>
- (c) *hya*<sup>10</sup> *hīm*<sup>11</sup> *dātā*<sup>12</sup> *xšayantō*<sup>13</sup>
- (d) *hadā*<sup>14</sup> *vāstrā*<sup>15</sup> *gaodāyō*<sup>16</sup> *ḡwaxšo* ?<sup>17</sup>
- (e) *kəm*<sup>18</sup> *hōi*<sup>19</sup> *uštā*<sup>20</sup> *ahurəm*<sup>21</sup>
- (f) *yə*<sup>22</sup> *drəgvō.d[e]bīs*<sup>23</sup> *aēs[ə]məm*<sup>24</sup>  
*vādāyōi*<sup>25</sup>.



*Translation :*

Thereupon<sup>1</sup> the Creator<sup>2</sup> of-the-Cow<sup>3</sup> asked<sup>4</sup> Righteousness<sup>5</sup>: How<sup>6</sup> (is it with) thy<sup>7</sup> (protecting-) judge<sup>9</sup> (?) for the-Cow<sup>8</sup> so-that<sup>10</sup> (You as her) possessors<sup>13</sup> shall-give<sup>12</sup> her<sup>11</sup>, along-with<sup>14</sup> pastures,<sup>15</sup> cattle-tending<sup>16</sup> care<sup>17</sup>? Whom<sup>18</sup> would-You-want<sup>20</sup> for-her<sup>19</sup> (as) a Master<sup>21</sup> who<sup>22</sup> might-repel<sup>25</sup> Passion<sup>24</sup> (etc.) together-with-the-wicked<sup>23</sup>?”

*Notes :*

(a) *adā*—Ved. *ádā*; Phl. Tr. *āngāh*.

*taśā*—nom. sg. ‘creator,’ from  $\sqrt{tas}$ , cf. my note on *taśat* in stanza 1 (b).—There is no unanimity among the Avestan scholars, as yet, as regards the exact significance of *gəuš taśan* and *gəuš urvan*; cf. Dhalla *ZT.* pp. 44f. Some interpret *gəuš taśan* as the personification of the creative energy of Ahura Mazda Himself, that is to say, they identify *gəuš taśan* with Ahura Mazda (for references, see Jackson, *GIP.* II, 633; Moulton, *EZ.* p. 347). Others see in *gəuš taśan* an independent creator of animal life—separate from Ahura Mazda (cf. particularly Bartholomae *AF.* 3, 25-29; *AW.* s.vv., *GA.*, Anhang, s.vv.; Reichelt *AR.* p. 186). There are also some who, as they view the cow as a symbol of the earth, take *gəuš taśan* and *gəuš urvan* as representing the entire universe (cf. Haug, *Essays*, p. 148).—The word occurs thrice in the Gāthās: 29, 2; 31, 9; and 46, 9; and it has been shown by Smith (*Studies*, § 70) that *gəuš taśan*, as the term for a specific expression of Ahura’s creative power exercised in the creation of the herd, should be identified with Ahura Himself.



(b) *kaṣā*—Andreas-Wackernagel (*ibid*, 1931, p. 320): *kuṣā* according to *scriptio plena* of the Younger Avesta. Ved. *kathā́* also is recast from *\*kuthā́*; only thus can its accent be explained (*ibid*, 1914, p. 32).

*ratus*—nom. sg. mas. This is one of the most important, and at the same time difficult, technical terms of the Avestan *Weltanschauung*. Bartholomae (*AW*. coll. 1497ff.), in discussing the word as used in the Gāthās, translates it “judex, Richter, Schiedsrichter” as against *abū*—“Gerichtsherr.” Andreas-Wackernagel translate it “Anordnung” but without giving any reasons. Nor is J. Hertel’s recent discussion of Av. *ratu*-, *aratu*-, *aratu*-, Ved. *ṛtū*- (*AO*. 1933, Vol. V, p. 41ff.) very helpful. He translates it (p. 51) “Ausstrahler des Herrschafts- und Siegesfeuers”=“Schutzherr.” For want of a better suggestion I have rendered it as “a (protecting) judge.”—*ratu*- and *abura*- of this stanza correspond to *abu*- and *ratu*- in st. 6.

(c) *dātā*—sec. pers. pl. imperative of √*dā*—‘to give,’ Ved. √*dā*-. Therefore *xṣayantō* (from √*xṣi*—‘to rule, to possess’) “You who are possessors.” Reichelt (*AR*. p. 186) translates the whole question thus: ‘Hast thou a Judge (appointed) for the ox, that Ye (the number changes, *Aša* and other Gods being addressed) may yield (to it) besides its fodder anxious care?’ Smith (*Studies*, p. 66, n. 5) takes *xṣayantō* as a generalisation of the specific *ratus* (‘a judge’), “believing this to be a possible explanation of the otherwise puzzling change from the sg. *tōi* to pl. *dātā xṣayantō*.”

(d) *badā*—adv. ‘with’ from Idg. *\*ham*- ‘one.’—



Ved. *sahā* adv. (note also its use as a preposition in Ved. *sadhāstuti* etc.); Oss. *äd* 'with.'

*vāstrā*—acc. pl. neut. 'pastures.' Smith (*Studies*, p. 66) takes it "as the noun of agency rather than as the abstract noun." Bartholomae (*AW*. col. 1413) connects this word with an Aryan base \**uāt-* 'to go to pastures (in search of fodder of creepers)', 'to lead to the pastures and watch thereon' (Paul, *Wb.* 537). Cf. Old High German *weida*, Modern German *weide*. See Noreen *UL*, 211; Brugmann, *Grundriss* I<sup>2</sup>, 504. Skt. tr. *pālanam*, *ābārah*, *pālayitā*.

*gaodāyā*—adj (here acc. sg. n.), *gao*+*dāyab-* (from √*dā(y)*- 'to tend,' cf. Ved. *dhinóti*), Ved. *gódhāyas*-adj. 'cattle-tending.'—Phl. tr. *gōspandūn dabišn*; Skt. tr. *gosṛṣṭivṛyavasāyī*.

*ṣwaxśah*—acc. sg. neut. lit. 'zeal, activity, agility,' here, therefore, 'care'; from √*ṣwakś-*. Ved. *tvákṣas*-neut. Phl. tr. *tuxśākēh*; *tuxśākē*; Skt. tr. *vyavasāyatā*. *vyavasāyah*, *vyavasāyī*.

(e) *uštā*—impf. act. 2 pl. √*vas-* 'to wish,' Ved. √*vas-*. Smith (*Studies*, p. 66) takes it "as the common adverb (*AW*. col. 417), referring to the desire of the herd-soul expressed in the last line of Stanza 1."

(f) *dragvō.dbīš*—instr. pl. in a sociative sense: Reichelt *EA*. §446 b, β; *AR*. p. 186. Both Bartholomae and Reichelt translate the word as "the companions of *Drug*." "In the *Gāthās* 'Companion of *Drug*' is often found referring to some definite character known to the hearers, an unbelieving prince (as in Y. 32, 5) or prophet (as in Y. 32, 14)"; Reichelt *AR*. p. 186. Smith (*Studies*, §26): "The reverse of human *asa-* is *drug-*. It expresses antagonism



to the divine order and represents what is contrary, out of harmony, untrue, false. I have rejected the usual translation 'lie' because of its specific English connotations and have preferred 'wickedness,' defined as 'departure from the rules of divine law' (Webster's *New International Dictionary*, 1914, s.v.). The *dragvant-* is the 'wicked man,' the opposite of the *aśavan-*."

*vādāyōit*—opt. 3 sg. of the base *vādāya-* of  $\sqrt{vād-}$  (See Reichelt *AR.* p. 260; Bartholomae *AW.*, Col. 1410; *GIP.* I, §144 p. 81), 'to thrust off, to repel.' Cf. *Gk.* *ōthéō*, *Ved.*  $\sqrt{bādh-}$ .—Skt. tr. *yo.....tādanāṃ datte*; Phl. tr. *kē.....zanīśn dabēt*.

*Stanza 3:*

- (a) ahmāi<sup>1</sup> aśā<sup>2</sup> nōi<sup>3</sup> sar[ə]jā<sup>4</sup>
- (b) advaēsō<sup>5</sup> gavōi<sup>6</sup> paiti<sup>7</sup>-mrava<sup>8</sup>:
- (c) avaēsām<sup>9</sup> nōi<sup>10</sup> vīduyē<sup>11</sup>
- (d) yā<sup>12</sup> śavaitē<sup>13</sup> ādrēng<sup>14</sup> ərəśvānhō<sup>15</sup>.
- (e) hātām<sup>16</sup> hvō<sup>17</sup> aojīstō<sup>18</sup>
- (f) yahmāi,<sup>19</sup> zavēng<sup>20</sup>, jīmā<sup>21</sup> kərəduśā<sup>22</sup>.

*Translation:*

To-him<sup>1</sup> Righteousness<sup>2</sup> replied<sup>7-8</sup>: "(There is) not<sup>3</sup> a helper<sup>4</sup> (who is) unhostile<sup>5</sup> to-the-Cow<sup>6</sup>. One-does-not-know<sup>10-11</sup> how<sup>12</sup> the high<sup>15</sup> amongst-them<sup>9</sup> treat<sup>13</sup> the lowly<sup>14</sup>. The strongest<sup>18</sup> of-the-beings<sup>16</sup> (is) he<sup>17</sup> to-whom<sup>19</sup>, at call,<sup>20</sup> I go<sup>21</sup> with-succour<sup>22</sup> (?)..."

*Notes:*

There is no great difficulty in explaining the individual words of the stanza but its sense is far



from being clear. It is natural to expect this verse to contain Aśa's reply to the inquiries made by the Creator of the Cow in the previous stanza but it is hard to determine the logical sequence between the first four *pādas a-d* and the last two. Nor is Bartholomae's attempt to put the last two *pādas e-f* in the Creator's mouth very successful.

(a) *sarjā*—nom. sing. of *sargan*- m. 'helper.' Bartholomae (*AW*. col. 1566) connects it with an Idg. base *\*xalg-* (with this Goth. *hilpen* is to be connected, just as Ksl. *vruga* with Goth. *wairpan*). The Afgh. post-position *sarab* 'together with,' which was originally a noun (Trump, *Grammar of the Pašto*, 294), is also related to *sar-* in *sarjā* (Andreas-Wackernagel, *ibid.*, 1931, p. 320).

(c) *avaēšam*—gen. pl. of the demonstrative base *ava-*, signifies here mankind in general and goes with the last two words in (d). Bartholomae, Reichelt and Smith connect it with *nōit vīdnyē* but that is hardly acceptable, cf. Andreas-Wackernagel, *ibid.*, 1931, p. 320.

*vīdnyē*—inf. of  $\sqrt{\text{vid-}}$ , Ved.  $\sqrt{\text{vid}}$ , 'to know.'

(d) *yā*—here adverbially used, 'how.'

*šavaitē*—pres. mid. 3 pl. of  $\sqrt{\text{śyu-}}$ , Ved.  $\sqrt{\text{śyu}}$  'to move oneself,' 'to deal,' 'to act.' MP. *šavad* 'he goes.'

*ādrāng*—acc. pl. m. of *ādra-* adj. Ved. *ādbrā-* adj. 'lowly,' 'dependant,' 'mean.' Etymology of the word is uncertain.

*arāšvā<sup>o</sup> nibo* nom. pl. m. of *arāšva-*, Ved. *r̥švā-* adj. 'high,' 'noble.'

(f) *zavāng*—Bartholomae (*AW.*, coll. 1668 f.) and Reichelt (*AR.*, p. 186) take this form as a loc. sing.



of time both here and in Y. 28, 3 in preference to a possible acc. pl. of \**zava-* (Ved. *háva-* m., cf. RV. I, 183, 5). Here in Y. 29, 3 the accusative for the verb *jimā* is, according to Bartholomae, already implied in the dative *yahmāi*.

*jimā*—subjunctive used in the future sense, cf. Reichelt, *AE*. §646.

*karadusā*—instr. sg. of *karadus-*. Etymology and exact meaning of the word are obscure to me. Bartholomae (*AW*. Col. 467) takes it as a neuter noun meaning 'protection, help, aid' and compares it with Ved. *chardīṣ-* neuter, 'protection, protecting army,' Goth. *skildus* (cf. Bartholomae *Studien* 2, 58; Oldenberg *ZDMG*. 55, 312). As to the difference in anlaut, Bartholomae compares Ved. *chavī-* 'skin,' Gk. *skūtos*, Goth. *skauda* and Gk. *kuītos*, Lat. *cutis*, OHG. *būt*.—Pahl. tr. *hac astān ān ōzōmandtar kē ō ān pa xvānišn rasēt ō kartārīb* (Skt. tr. *kartrtve*).—As regards the instrumental case being used in this manner, cf. RV. I, 39, 7: *gántā nūnám no 'vasā* as against RV. VIII, 9, 1: *ā nūnám...gantam ávase*.

#### Stanza 4:

- (a) [mazdā<sup>1</sup> sax<sup>v</sup>ār[ā]<sup>2</sup> mairištō<sup>3</sup>
- (b) yā<sup>4</sup> zī<sup>5</sup> vāvərəzōi<sup>6</sup> pairī<sup>7</sup>. ciṣt<sup>8</sup>.
- (c) daēvāiš.cā<sup>10</sup> maś(i)yāiš<sup>11</sup>.cā<sup>12</sup>
- (d) yā<sup>13</sup>.cā<sup>14</sup> var[ə]šaitē<sup>15</sup> aipī<sup>16</sup>. ciṣt<sup>17</sup>]
- (e) hvō<sup>18</sup> vicirō<sup>19</sup> ahurō<sup>20</sup>;
- (f) aṣā<sup>21</sup> [nō]<sup>22</sup> aṇha<sup>23</sup> yaṣā<sup>24</sup> hvō<sup>25</sup> vasat<sup>25</sup>.

#### Translation :

[The Wise (Lord)<sup>1</sup> (is) most-mindful-of<sup>3</sup> plans (?)<sup>2</sup> which<sup>4</sup>, indeed<sup>5</sup>, were-performed<sup>6</sup> in the past<sup>7-8</sup> both<sup>10</sup>



by-the-*daēvas*<sup>9</sup> and<sup>12</sup> by-men<sup>11</sup> and<sup>14</sup> which<sup>13</sup> shall-be-performed<sup>15</sup> in the future<sup>16-17</sup>]. He,<sup>18</sup> the Lord,<sup>20</sup> (is) the decider;<sup>19</sup> therefore<sup>21</sup> let-it-be<sup>23</sup> as-<sup>24</sup> He<sup>25</sup> shall-will.<sup>25</sup>

*Notes :*

The portion (a)-(d) does not very well fit in the expected reply of *Aša*; therefore, perhaps, it does not originally belong to this stanza.

(a) *sax<sup>v</sup>ār*—acc. pl. neuter. The ending -*ā* given in Geldner's text is superfluous on metrical grounds. Both the etymology and the meaning being obscure to me, I have followed Bartholomae (*AW*. Col. 1569): 'plan', 'plot'; from  $\sqrt{sah}$ -; lit. "proclamation (of an intention, plan)." —Pahl. tr. *sax<sup>v</sup>-anān*. Skt. tr. *vacasām*.—Roth connected *sax<sup>v</sup>ār* with Ved. *sasvár* 'secretly' (*ZDMG*. vol. 25, p. 5) but Bartholomae rejected it (*AF*. III, 37).

(b) *vāvarəzōi*—perfect. mid. 3 pl. of  $\sqrt{varəz}$ - 'to work,' 'perform,' 'carry out.'

*pairi*—'formerly,' 'in the past.' This cannot be equated with the Ved. *pāri* 'about,' 'round.' On the other hand, this is the same as gAv. *parā*, yAv. *parō* 'before,' 'formerly,' Ved. *purā* and *purāḥ*. The formation of *pairi* from *parā* is due to the influence of the antithetic *aipī* (No. 16) 'subsequently' 'later on' 'in the future' (Andreas-Wackernagel, *ibid*, 1931, p. 320).

(d) *varšaitē*—s-aor. subj. 3 sg. mid. of  $\sqrt{varəz}$ -.

(e) *vīcirō*—nom. sg. of *vī-cira*-adj. 'deciding' 'decider,' from  $\sqrt{ci}$ - (Ved.  $\sqrt{ci}$ -) with *vi* 'to decide' 'to distinguish.' Cf. Ved. *nicirā*-adj.—Bartholomae (*AW*. col. 1438) gives MP. *vazīr* as a cognate but that



is untenable as has been shown by Andreas-Wackernagel (*ibid.*, p. 320): the word *vāzr̥* is from  $\sqrt{vez}$ -, Skt.  $\sqrt{vac}$ -, and literally means 'a spokesman.'

(f) No 22 [*nā*] is clearly superfluous on metrical grounds.

*Stanza 5:*

- (a) at<sup>1</sup> vā<sup>2</sup> ustānāis<sup>3</sup> ahvā<sup>4</sup>
- (b) zastāis<sup>5</sup> frīnəmnā<sup>6</sup> ahurāi<sup>7</sup> ā<sup>8</sup>—
- (c) mō<sup>9</sup> urvā<sup>10</sup> gōuš.<sup>11</sup>cā<sup>12</sup> azyā<sup>13</sup>—
- (d) hyat<sup>14</sup> mazdām<sup>15</sup> dvidi<sup>16</sup> fərasābyō<sup>17</sup> :
- (e) nōit<sup>18</sup> ərəzəjyōi<sup>19</sup> frajyāitiš<sup>20</sup>
- (f) nōit<sup>21</sup> fsuyentē<sup>22</sup> drəgvasū<sup>23</sup> pairi<sup>24</sup>.

*Translation:*

(The Soul of Cow speaks :) "So<sup>1</sup>, are<sup>4</sup> (we) praying<sup>6</sup> to You<sup>2</sup>, with-hands<sup>5</sup> upstretched<sup>3</sup> towards<sup>8</sup> Ahura<sup>7</sup>,—(we, namely,) my<sup>9</sup> soul<sup>10</sup> and<sup>12</sup> (that) of-the-pregnant<sup>13</sup> cow<sup>11</sup>,—while<sup>14</sup> (we) move<sup>16</sup> Mazda<sup>15</sup> for instructions<sup>17</sup>: Never<sup>18</sup> (may there be) tyranny<sup>20</sup> unto the right-living<sup>19</sup>; nor<sup>21</sup> unto (our) shepherd<sup>22</sup> (though) amongst-the wicked<sup>23</sup> (who are) on-all-sides<sup>24</sup>."

*Notes:*

(a) *vā*<sup>2</sup>—Geldner prefers *vā* (6 mss.) to *vā*<sup>2</sup> (J<sub>2</sub>, K<sub>5</sub>, Pt<sub>4</sub>, P<sub>11</sub>, Mf. 1). Bartholomae and Reichelt take *vā* as an emphatic particle. Smith (*Studies*, p. 67) and Taraporewala (*The First three Chapters of Gatha Ahunavaiti*, Sanj Vartaman Annual, 1929) translate it as 'indeed' 'verily.'—I take *vā*<sup>2</sup> acc. pl. 'you' as an object to *ahvā*.....*frīnəmnā*, cf. Andreas—Wackernagel, *ibid.*, 1913, p. 372.



*abhvā*—impf. act. 1 du. of  $\sqrt{ab}$ -, Ved.  $\sqrt{as}$ -, 'to be.'

(b) *frīnamnā*—adjectival pres. part. mid. of  $\sqrt{frī}$ -, Ved.  $\sqrt{prī}$ -, 'to please' 'to please a deity with praise' 'to pray.'

(c) *mā*—possessive adj. nom. sg. masc.

*azya*<sup>2</sup>—gen. sg. of *azi*- adj. f. "carrying, pregnant," Ved. *abī*- f. Leumann *EW.* 30; Oldenberg *Rgveda*, on IX, 77, 3; Geldner *VSt.* 3, 55, and *Gloss.*; Neisser *WR.* s.v. Nigh II, 11 places *abī* amongst *gonāmāni*.

(d) *dvaiddi*—pres. med. 1 dual. Bartholomae derives the form from  $\sqrt{^4dav}$ - "(sich) drängen," Ved.  $\sqrt{dhū}$ -; but that is hardly possible, as shown by Andreas-Wackernagel (*ibid.*, 1931, p. 320 f.). According to the latter, the root appears to be *dā*, Ved. *dā*-, *dhā*-. In RV.  $\sqrt{dhā}$ - (with personal accusative and objective dative) means 'to induce a person to do (something).'

*fārasābyō*—dat. pl. of *fāra-sāb*-f. Bartholomae (*AW.* col. 1002) takes this form as abl. pl. (so also Reichelt, *AR.* p. 187) as used for instr. pl. and Reichelt (*AE.* §428) explains *-byō* for *-bīs* as syncretism. This is unnecessary: a form in *-byō* cannot have an instrumental significance. The form is clearly dative pl. ('dative of purpose': Smith, *Studies*, p. 67). The substantive is from  $\sqrt{sāb}$ - with *frā* 'to teach' 'instruct' 'reveal,' cf. Y. 28, 11, and 45, 6. The meaning of the word is, therefore, 'teaching,' 'instruction' 'revelation (of knowledge)'; and not 'Bitte' (Bartholomae), nor 'entreaties' (Reichelt, Tarporewala, Sanj-Vartaman Annual 1929).



(e) *frajyāitiš*—nom. sg. f. 'harm' 'tyranny' 'destruction,' from √*jyā*- 'to debilitate' (cf. Skt. *jināti* 'he becomes aged') with *frā*.—Skt. tr. *prakṛṣṭā bhāniḥ*.

(f) *dragvasū pairi*—*dragvasū* < \**dragvas-su* < *dragvat-su*, loc. plu. m. The construction appears to be rather strange as *pairi* in Indo-Iranian does not appear to have been used with a locative, cf. Delbrück, *Vergl. Synt.* I, 711f. Bartholomae (*AF.* 3, 15; *GA.* p. 7) and Reichelt (*AR.* p. 187) see here an ablative sense : "from (the hands of) the companions of *Drug*," but there is no reason why we should take the loc., for abl., cf. also Andreas-Wackernagel, *ibid.*, 1931, p. 321.

#### Stanza 6 :

- (a) *aṭ*<sup>1</sup> *avaocat*<sup>2</sup> *ahurō*<sup>3</sup>
- (b) *mazdā*<sup>4</sup> *vīdvā*<sup>5</sup> *vafūš*<sup>6</sup> *vyānayā*<sup>7</sup> :
- (c) *nōi*<sup>8</sup> *aēvā*<sup>9</sup> *ahū*<sup>10</sup> *vistō*<sup>11</sup>
- (d) *naēdā*<sup>12</sup> *ratuš*<sup>13</sup> *ašā*<sup>14</sup> *-cī*<sup>15</sup> *hacā*<sup>16</sup>.
- (e) *aṭ*<sup>17</sup> *zi*<sup>18</sup> *ōwā*<sup>19</sup> *fšuyantā*<sup>20</sup> *cā*<sup>21</sup>
- (f) *vāstr(i)yāi*<sup>22</sup> *cā*<sup>23</sup> *ōwōr[a]štā*<sup>24</sup> *tatašā*<sup>25</sup>

#### Translation :

Thereupon<sup>1</sup> spoke<sup>2</sup> the Wise<sup>4</sup> Lord<sup>3</sup>, Omniscient<sup>5</sup>, Wonderful<sup>6</sup> by- (in His) soul<sup>7</sup>: "Indeed,<sup>9</sup> not<sup>8</sup> a master,<sup>10</sup> not-yet<sup>12</sup> a (protecting) judge<sup>13</sup> (has been) found<sup>11</sup> merely<sup>15</sup> through<sup>16</sup> (the arrangements of) Righteousness.<sup>14</sup> For,<sup>17</sup> surely,<sup>18</sup> thee<sup>19</sup> the Creator<sup>24</sup> hath—fashioned<sup>25</sup> for both<sup>21</sup> those-that-nourish-cattle<sup>20</sup> and<sup>23</sup> those-that-find-pastures<sup>22</sup> (for them)."

#### Notes :

- (a) *avaocat*—pluperfect 3 sg. act. √*vak*-, Ved.



√*vac-* 'to speak.' Geldner has *ā vaocat* and *ā* has been explained by Bartholomae, Reichelt and Smith as nom. sg. of *a*-pronoun. But that is not the case, see Andreas-Wackernagel's note (*ibid.*, 1931, p. 321) in translation: "In consideration of the strange *ascit* in Y. 46, 18 it seems to us at least hazardous to take here *ā* as a nom. sg. of a base *a-* 'self' which is morphologically extremely impossible. (Cf. Sommer, *IF.* 30, 394). It is natural to assume an augment-form here."

(b) *vafūš*—acc. sg. adj. Ved. *vāpuṣ-*. For Av. -f- = Ved. -p- cf. *huśx<sup>a</sup>afa* (Y. 57, 17): Ved. *suṣvāpa* (Bartholomae, *AW.* coll. 1862f.). Ved. *vāpuṣ-* is used both as a neuter noun and an adj. So in the Gāthās, too. Here it is more appropriate to take it as an adj. despite Andreas-Wackernagel's preference for a noun (*ibid.*, 1931, p. 321). In Y. 48, 9c it is a noun. In RV. II, 3, 7, as jointly pointed out by these two scholars, we read *dāivyā bōtārā..... vidūṣtarā.....vapuṣtarā* where *vidūṣ-* and *vāpuṣ-* have been coordinated as attributes of a divine being. My interpretation is influenced by this striking similarity. Ved. *vāpuṣ-* as an adj. means 'wonderful' 'exquisitely beautiful,' and as a noun 'brilliant form' 'wonderful appearance.'—H. W. Bailey's recent interpretation of this word as "destructions" (*Pavri Oriental Studies*, pp. 23f.) is unacceptable.

*vyānāyā*—instr. sg. of *vyānā*-f. Bartholomae (*AW.* col. 1478) translates it as 'wisdom,' without however being sure of the meaning or the etymology of the word. According to Andreas-Wackernagel (*ibid.*, 1931, p. 322) *vyānā*-(*vyōnā*\*) belongs to Turfan *w'rg*, older



*viyān* and MP. *jān*; it therefore means 'soul.'

(c) *vistō*—perf. part. pass. of  $\sqrt{vaēd}$ - 'to find' 'discover,' Ved.  $\sqrt{vid}$ - 'to obtain.'

(f) *δwōr'stā*—identical with Ved. *tvāṣtā* 'the heavenly Creator,' as already mentioned by Justi (*Handbuch*, 142). For Ved. *-ṣt-* from *-rṣt-*, see Wackernagel, *Ai. Gram.* I, 270 §234<sup>b</sup>. "Auffällig ist die dunkle Färbung der Wurzelsilbe, da doch *ig. er* zugrunde liegt. Aber bei *cōrat* : *ai. kár* aus *ig. -ger-t* liegt ganz derselbe Fall, bei *dōrsat* Y. 49, 2c aus *ig. dhērst* wenigstens etwas ähnliches vor. Vgl. *cōisām cōis cōist mōist*, wo überall der Diphthong sicher auf indogerm. *ei* zurückgeht." (Andreas-Wackernagel, *ibid.*, 1931, p. 322).

*Stanza 7 :*

- (a)  $tām^1 āzūtōis^2 ahurō^3$
- (b)  $māθrēm^4 taśat^5 aśā^6 hazaośō^7$
- (c)  $mazdā^8 gavōi^9 xśvīdēm^{10}-cā^{11}$
- (d)  $[hvo.]^{12} uruśaēibyō^{13} spəntō^{14} sāsnayā.^{15}-$
- (e)  $kas^{16}-tē^{17}, vohū^{18} manānhā.^{19}$
- (f)  $yə^{20} ī^{21} dāyāt^{22} əəāvā^{23} martaēibyō ?^{24}.$

*Translation :*

The Wise<sup>8</sup> Lord<sup>3</sup>, of-one-will<sup>7</sup> with Righteousness<sup>6</sup>, has-created<sup>5</sup> for the Cow<sup>9</sup> that<sup>1</sup> Sacred-Word<sup>4</sup> of butter<sup>2</sup> and<sup>11</sup> milk<sup>10</sup> for (the use of) those-who-would-protect<sup>13</sup> (her);—(He) the Holy<sup>14</sup> through-(His)-Law.<sup>15</sup>—(The Soul of Kine speaks :) "Who<sup>16</sup> (is that Protector) of thine,<sup>17</sup> O Good<sup>18</sup> Mind,<sup>19</sup> who<sup>20</sup> shall, indeed,<sup>21</sup> grant<sup>22</sup> us-two<sup>23</sup> (protection) from (the tyranny of) men<sup>24</sup> ?"



*Notes :*

This is one of the most difficult verses of the Gāthās, and is variously interpreted by scholars. The most recent translation is that of Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala (*Pavri Oriental Studies*, pp. 462-466) whose interpretations are eminently governed by religious ideas. —The first part (a-d), in my opinion, is spoken by Vohu Manah, the last part (e-f) by the soul of Kine.

(a) *tām*—The demonstrative might suggest that a prose passage had preceded; cf. Smith, *Studies*, p. 68 n; Bartholomae, *GA.*, pp. 11f., Anm. 6.

*āzūtōis*—gen. sg. of *āzūti*-fem. 'butter' 'sacrificial butter,' cf. Ved. *ābuti*-'offering.' Bartholomae (*AW.*, col. 344) is incorrect in assuming that the word refers to the flesh of cattle as a source of food for men. The origin of such a preposterous assumption of Bartholomae is, as pointed out by Dr. Taraporewala (*ibid.*, p. 463), in the Pahlavi version of the passage. No doubt, *āzūti* in the Pahlavi writings and other later works like Vendidād signified 'fat'; Alberuni's *Chronology of Ancient Nations* (Sachau's translation, p. 224) makes mentions of a feast *āz(u)ḍākandxvār*, 'feast of fat and bread,' that took place in the seventh month of the Khwarezmians (Andreas-Wackernagel, *ibid.*, 1931, p. 322; Gauthiot *Mém. Soc. ling.*, 19, 129f.). But in the Gāthās, the word decidedly means 'sacrificial butter.' Dr. Taraporewala translates it as 'sacrifice.'

(b) *maṣṭram*—acc. sg. of *maṣṭra*-masc. Ved. *mántra*- 'sacred formula' 'sacred word.'—Here the 'sacred word' is only alluded to. It is, in Dr. Taraporewala's opinion, the *Abuna-Variya* prayer.



*hazaošō*—nom. sg. of *hazaoša*-adj. Ved. *sajōša*-adj. 'of one will.'—Pahl. tr. *pa ham dōšišnīb*.

(c) *xšvīdām*—acc. sg. of *xšvīd*- m. 'milk.' Dr. Taraporewala prefers "sweetness" (of the Mother-Earth).—In view of its close connection with and its having the same case as *āzūtī*-in other places in the Avestā (see Bartholomae *AW*. col. 562), Andreas-Wackernagel suggest (*ibid.*, 1931, p. 322) that here there is either laxity of construction, viz. *xšvīdām* for *xšvīdō* (gen. sg.) after *mašram*, or the ending is defectively written and a gen. pl. *xšvīdām* is to be taken for granted on the analogy of the Vedic plurals *páyāmsi*, *páyobhiḥ*.

(d) No. 12 *hvo* seems to be an interpolation or to have been unconsciously inserted by the copyist under the influence of exactly the same *pāda* in the next verse. Bartholomae compounds it with *urušāēibyō* and derives it from  $\sqrt{x^v ar}$ - 'to eat,' hence the compound *hvo-urnō* would mean 'those that crave nourishment.' But Dr. Taraporewala (*ibid.*, pp. 464f.) has conclusively shown that such a construction hardly suits to the context and to the spirit of the Gāthās.

*urušāēibyō*—dat. pl. of *urušya*- m., a difficult word. Vedic *urusyā* (RV. VI, 44, 7) is taken to mean "with desire to protect" (Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 218). I have therefore translated the word here as "for those-who-would-protect (the cow)." Dr. Taraporewala translates it "unto (His) helpers."

(f) *ī*—Barthol. (*AW*. coll. 154f.) takes this as an acc. du. of the demonstrative pronoun *ay*-(weak grade). But it seems rather to be an enclitic of asseveration



as Bartholomae himself (*AW.* col. 362) takes it to be in Y. 31, 22 and 53, 6. See also Dr. Taraporewala, *ibid.*, p. 466.

*āvā*—for want of a better suggestion, I have accepted the meaning “us-two” given by Roth, Bartholomae and Andreas-Wackernagel (*ibid.*, 1931, p. 322). Dr. Taraporewala reads the word as *avā* (acc. pl. neut. of *avam*) and translates it ‘help.’

*Stanza 8 :*

- (a) a(y)ēm<sup>1</sup> mōi<sup>2</sup> idā<sup>3</sup> vistō<sup>4</sup>
- (b) yō<sup>5</sup> nō<sup>6</sup> aēvō<sup>7</sup> sāsnā<sup>8</sup> gūsatā<sup>9</sup> :
- (c) Zaratrustrō<sup>10</sup> spitāmō.<sup>11</sup>
- (d) hvō<sup>12</sup> nō<sup>13</sup> mazdā<sup>14</sup> vašti<sup>15</sup> asāi<sup>16</sup>-cā<sup>17</sup>
- (e) car[ə]kərəθrā<sup>18</sup> srāvayenhē<sup>19</sup>
- (f) hyat<sup>20</sup> hōi<sup>21</sup> hud[ə]mēm<sup>22</sup> d(i)yāi<sup>23</sup> vax[ə]-  
θrahyā<sup>24</sup>.

*Translation :*

“This-one<sup>1</sup> here<sup>3</sup> has-been-found<sup>4</sup> for me<sup>2</sup>, who<sup>5</sup>, alone<sup>7</sup>, has-listened<sup>9</sup> to our<sup>6</sup> teachings<sup>8</sup> : Zarathustra<sup>10</sup> Spitāma.<sup>11</sup> He<sup>12</sup>, O Wise<sup>14</sup> (Lord), is willing<sup>15</sup> for us<sup>13</sup> and<sup>17</sup> for Righteousness<sup>16</sup> to proclaim<sup>19</sup> duties<sup>18</sup>. Therefore<sup>20</sup>, to him<sup>21</sup> shall-be-given<sup>23</sup> sweetness<sup>22</sup> of speech<sup>24</sup>.”

*Notes :*

Vohu Manah speaks.

(a) *vistō*—perf. part. pass. of √*vid*-Ved. √*vid*-‘to find,’ ‘obtain.’ See Gray, *JAOs.*, 21, 2, 115.

(b) *gūsatā*—impf. mid. 3 sg. √*gaos*-‘to hear’ ‘listen to,’ Ved. √*ghuṣ*-‘to resound.’

(c) *spitāmo*—nom. sg. Cf. *arsāma*- an old Persian



name of a person : both appear to have a postposition -ama (Andreas-Wackernagel *ibid.*, 1931, p. 323). *Spitāma* was Zarathuštra's family-name and might mean "most white one;" cf. Skt. *śveta-tama*. The name is found also in Median environs in connection with the royal house (Ktesias, *Pers.* 2) and is referred to in Babylonian records of the time of Darius II (cf. A. T. Clay, *Business Document of Murashū Sons pp.*, Philadelphia, 1912, 25). For further references, see O. G. von Wesendonk's recent book, *Das Weltbild der Iranier*, Munich, 1933, p. 59.

(e) *carkərəšrā*—acc. pl. of *carkərəšra*- neut., from the intensive base of  $\sqrt{\text{kar}}$ - 'to do' 'act.' Cf. Ved. *car-kr̥tya*- adj., and other intensive forms of  $\sqrt{\text{kar}}$ . Bartholomae (*AW.* col. 582) translates the word as 'thought' but the idea of 'duty' suits better than that of 'thought' both in point of meaning and Zoroastrian doctrines; see Gray, *l.c.*; Smith, *Studies*, p. 68n.

*srāvayenihē*—inf. of the causative of  $\sqrt{\text{sru}}$ - 'to hear,' Ved.  $\sqrt{\text{sru}}$ -. Here the inf. is used as an object, see Reichelt, *AE.*, §707.

(f) *hudmēm*—acc. sg. of *hudma*- masc. "sweetness," Ved. *svādmān*—masc. (from Indog. \**sudma*-).

*d(i)yāi*—inf. of  $\sqrt{\text{dā}}$ -, Ved.  $\sqrt{\text{dā}}$ - 'to give,' 'grant.' *vaxšrabyā*-gen. sg. of *vaxšra*-neut., Skt. *vaktra*-neu. "mouth, speech" from  $\sqrt{\text{vak}}$ - 'to speak.' Pahl. Tr. *gōwišn*-.—For the expression *hudmēm.....vaxšrabyā* cf. Ved. *svādmānam vācāḥ*, R̥V. II, 21, 6.

*Stanza 9 :*

(a)  $at^1$ -  $cā^2$   $gōuš^3$   $urvā^4$   $raostā^5$  :

(b)  $yē^6$   $anaēśəm^7$   $xšānmōnē^8$   $rādəm^9$



- (c) vācəm<sup>10</sup> nərəs<sup>11</sup> asūrahyā<sup>12</sup>—  
 (d) yə<sup>13</sup> mā<sup>14</sup> vas[ə]mī<sup>15</sup> +īśā<sup>16</sup>-xšaθrī(iyə)m<sup>17</sup>!  
 (e) kadā<sup>18</sup> yavā<sup>19</sup> hvō<sup>20</sup> aṇha<sup>21</sup>  
 (f) yə<sup>22</sup> hōi<sup>23</sup> dada<sup>24</sup> zastava<sup>25</sup> avō<sup>26</sup>?

*Translation :*

And<sup>2</sup> thereupon<sup>1</sup> the Soul<sup>4</sup> of Kine<sup>3</sup> bewailed<sup>5</sup>:  
 “O that<sup>6</sup> I-should-suffer<sup>8</sup> a powerless<sup>7</sup> protector<sup>9</sup>, the  
 voice<sup>10</sup> of a weak<sup>12</sup> man<sup>11</sup>;—I, who,<sup>13</sup> in fact,<sup>16</sup> want<sup>15</sup>  
 a mighty<sup>16</sup>-ruler<sup>17</sup>! When,<sup>18</sup> (if) ever,<sup>19</sup> shall he<sup>20</sup>  
 be,<sup>21</sup> who<sup>22</sup> shall-give<sup>24</sup> him<sup>23</sup> strong-armed<sup>25</sup> suc-  
 cour<sup>26</sup>”

*Notes :*

(a) *raostā*—s-aor. mid. 3 sg. of √*raad-*, Ved. √*rud-* ‘to weep’ ‘lament’ ‘bewail.’

(b) *xšaṇmānē*—inf. in the conjunctive sense, (Bartholomae *AW.*, col. 554) of √<sup>\*</sup>*xšaṇ-*, Ved. √*kṣam-* ‘to put up with’ ‘suffer’ ‘permit.’ For the change of -n from -m and for the form see Bartholomae, *GIP.*, I, 1; §68, p. 27 and *l.c.* §258, 2c respectively.

*rādəm*—acc. sg. of *rāda-* masc. ‘protector’ ‘care-taker’ ‘provider’ from √*rād-* ‘to prepare,’ cf. Ved. √*rādh-*, Slav. *raditi* ‘to take care.’

(d) *īśā-xšaθriyām*—Geldner has *īśā* separated from *xšaθrim*. But, as Bartholomae (*AW.* col. 375) has pointed out, *īśā* stands opposite to *anaēšəm* and *xšaθriyām* to *nərəs asūrahyā*; therefore it is more appropriate to take both the words as forming one compound *īśā.xšaθriya-* “a mighty ruler.”—The younger form of *xšaθriya-* is *šēr* which has been



preserved as a title of princes in the eastern provinces of Iranian language (Andreas-Wackernagel, *ibid.*, 1931, p. 323).

(e) *yavā*—here adverb, originally instr. (or loc.) sg. of *yav*-neut. “duration.”

*Stanza 10 :*

- (a) *yūzēm*<sup>1</sup> *aēibyō*<sup>2</sup> *ahūrā*<sup>3</sup>
- (b) *aogō*<sup>4</sup> *dātā*<sup>5</sup> *aśā*<sup>6</sup> *xšaθrēm*<sup>7</sup>-*cā*<sup>8</sup>
- (c) *avat*<sup>9</sup> *vohū*<sup>10</sup> *manānhā*<sup>11</sup>
- (d) *yā*<sup>12</sup> *huś[ə]itiś*<sup>13</sup>(-*cā*)<sup>14</sup> *rāmam*<sup>15</sup>-*cā*<sup>16</sup> *dāt*<sup>17</sup>
- (e) *azēm*<sup>18</sup>-*cī*<sup>19</sup> *ahyā*<sup>20</sup> *mazdā*<sup>21</sup>
- (f) *θ(u)wam*<sup>22</sup> *mānhī*<sup>23</sup> *paorvi(iyā)m*<sup>24</sup> *vaē-dam*<sup>25</sup>.

*Translation :*

“(Do) You<sup>1</sup> for them,<sup>2</sup> O Lord<sup>3</sup>, give<sup>5</sup> (him) strength<sup>4</sup> through Righteousness<sup>6</sup>, and<sup>8</sup> that<sup>9</sup> power<sup>7</sup> through Good<sup>10</sup> Mind,<sup>11</sup> by which<sup>12</sup> he-shall-found<sup>17</sup> good-dwelling-places<sup>13</sup> and<sup>14-16</sup> tranquillities<sup>15</sup>. I<sup>18</sup>, on-my-part<sup>19</sup>, have recognised<sup>23</sup> Thee<sup>22</sup>, O Wise-one<sup>21</sup>, as-the-chief<sup>24</sup> provider<sup>25</sup> of this thing.<sup>20</sup>”

*Notes :*

The soul of kine continues.

(d) No. 14 has been inserted to meet the metrical requirements.

*huśitīs*—acc. pl. of *hu-šiti*-, Ved. *su-ṣiti*-f., “good dwelling-places.”

*rāmam*—acc. pl. of *√rāman*- neut. ‘peace’ ‘quiet’ ‘tranquillity,’ from *√ram*-, Ved. *√ram*-, ‘to rest.’

(f) *mānhī*—s-aor. mid. 1 sg. of *√man*-, Ved. *√man*- ‘to think’ ‘recognise.’



*vaēdam*—acc. sg. of *vaēda*- masc. 'obtainer' 'provider,' from √*vid*- 'to find' 'obtain.' Cf. Ved. *vēdas*- neut. 'possession' (Grassmann, *WR*. col. 1353).

*Stanza 11 :*

- (a) kudā<sup>1</sup> aśəm<sup>2</sup> vohu<sup>3</sup>-cā<sup>4</sup>
- (b) manō<sup>5</sup> xšaθrəm<sup>6</sup>-cā<sup>7</sup> at<sup>8</sup> mā<sup>9</sup> [m]aśā<sup>10</sup>
- (c) yūzəm<sup>11</sup> mazdā<sup>12</sup> frāxšnənē<sup>13</sup>
- (d) mazōi<sup>14</sup> magāi<sup>15</sup> ā<sup>16</sup> paiti<sup>17</sup>-zān[a]ntā<sup>18</sup>.
- (e) ahurā<sup>19</sup> nū<sup>20</sup> nā<sup>21</sup> avar[ə]<sup>22</sup>
- (f) ōh(a)mā<sup>23</sup> rātōiš<sup>24</sup> yūsmāvatam<sup>25</sup>.

*Translation :*

"Where<sup>1</sup> (are) Righteousness<sup>2</sup> and<sup>4</sup> Good<sup>3</sup> Mind<sup>5</sup> and<sup>7</sup> Power<sup>6</sup>? (May) You<sup>11</sup> now<sup>8</sup> recognise<sup>16-17-18</sup> me<sup>9</sup> (as worthy), O Wise-one,<sup>12</sup> through Righteousness<sup>10</sup> to acknowledge<sup>13</sup> the great<sup>14</sup> gift<sup>15</sup>. O Lord<sup>19</sup>, now-that<sup>20</sup> They-have-helped<sup>22</sup> us,<sup>21</sup> we-shall-be<sup>23</sup> of service<sup>24</sup> unto-such-as-You<sup>25</sup>."

*Notes :*

Zarathuštra speaks.

(b) *mā maśā* is apparently miswritten by the copyist, as Andreas-Wackernagel point out (*ibid.*, 1931, p. 323), for *mā aśā*, for by the side of *mazdā*..... *ahurā* there cannot be any place for *maśā*. Or, should we read *mām aśā*?—Mark the following *yūzəm*.

(c) *frāxšnənē*—inf. (formed datively with a dative as an object) from √*xšnā*-with *fra* 'to acknowledge' 'to receive instruction in.' Cf. Ved. √*jan*- 'to know.'

(d) *magāi*—dat. (as obj.) sg. of *maga*- 'gift' 'present.' The 'gift' is of course the doctrines of Zarathuštra.—Cf. Messina: *Ursprung der Magier*



(Roma 1930), pp. 68 ff.

*ā*—postposition with a dat. in gAv., only after *-āi* datives of *a*-stems. Has no particular meaning.

*paiti-ṣāntā*—impf. active 2 pl. of √*zan*-with *paiti*, Ved. √*jan*- 'to know' with *prati* 'to recognise.' Bartholomae (*AW.* col. 1660) and Reichelt (*AR.* p. 188) take *ṣānatā* as a thematic form but *-a-* is superfluous and, moreover, *ṣāntā* having two syllables is a good non-thematic form and a normal cognate of Ved. *jānītā*, see Andreas-Wackernagel, *ibid.*, 1931, p. 323.

(f) *āhmā*—impf. act. 1 pl. of √*ah*- 'to be,' Ved. √*as*-. Here the form is in the sense of a voluntative injunctive, see Reichelt *AE.* §658; *AR.* p. 188.

*rātōis*—gen. sg. of *rāti*- fem. 'willingness of service' 'service,' cf. Ved. *rāti*- adj. 'willing' 'ready.' Cp. *arəm*.

*Note*—This paper was finished and submitted for publication in Nov. 1934. Professor Lommel's article on the same subject (*ZII.* vol. 10, (1935), No. 1, pp. 96-115) came therefore too late to my notice for consideration in this paper. The transliteration of the text has been simplified here to a certain extent, as some of the diacritical marks were not available at the time of printing the matter.—M.P.



THE *AYA* MONTHS

By DR. A. BANERJI-SASTRI

The word *ayasa* in the Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136 is an exact parallel to the word *ajasa* in the Kalawan Copper-plate inscription of the year 134. The first was discovered in 1914 and the second in 1931-32, both in or near Takshaśilā.

The contents are approximately the same in spirit, viz. the performance of certain religious rites with a view to obtain the health and weal of certain individuals and of humanity at large. (cf. Konow, *Corpus*, p. 77; EI., Vol. XXI, p. 259).

The script shows that "the same era is used in both records" (Konow, EI., *op. cit.* p. 253).

There is no controversy regarding the above points.

The interpretations, however, vary.<sup>1</sup> The text runs—

Sa 1 100 20 10 4 11 *ayasa* *ashaḍasa* *masasa*  
divase 10 4 1\*\*\*\*(Silver Scroll)

Saṁvatśaraye 1 100 20 10 4 *ajasa* śravanasa *masasa*  
divase treviśe 20 1 1 1 \*\*\*\*(Kalawan).

In JRAS., 1914, pp. 997, 995, Fleet wrote :  
"From the vast mass of inscriptional material which is

<sup>1</sup> Marshall, Boyer, Thomas, Fleet, Rapson and Jayaswal in JRAS., 1914, JA., XI, V, 1916, JRAS., 1914, pp. 987 ff; JRAS., 1914, pp. 992ff; *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, i., pp. 581ff; JBORS, 1929.



now available I cannot quote a single record in which the name of a real king (I mean, of course, excluding the fictitious Vikramāditya and Śālivāhana), whether living or dead at the time of the record—or even of any official—is mentioned in such a connection without some title or another. And for this reason, if for no other, I am of opinion that the word *ayasa* does not give a proper name.”<sup>1</sup>

In CII, Kharoshthī Inscr., p. 73, Konow held : “It seems to be necessary to explain *ayasa* as an adjective qualifying the ensuing *ashaḍasa*.”

Fleet and Konow stated the obvious. Konow went back on his view in interpreting the Kalawan inscr., El, vol. XXI, p. 254. His second thoughts were not better than the first.

In CII, Konow says : “It (*ayasa*) might represent Skr. *āryasya* and characterize the month as Aryan in contradistinction to the Macedonian months mention-

<sup>1</sup> Professor Rapson’s apology for this deviation is ingenuous but not convincing. He says—“It must be remembered that the inscription belongs to a people that knew not Azes. His family had been deposed and deprived of all royal attributes. The throne of Takshaśilā had passed from the Çakas and the Pahlavas to the Kushāṇas. Ayas could scarcely have been furnished with his wonted title, ‘Great King of Kings,’ in this inscription without prejudice to the house then reigning.” (CHI, p. 582).

Azes might not have been furnished with the wonted title ‘Great King of Kings’ without prejudice to the house then actually reigning, but the world should have received some distinguishing expression to denote that *Aya* was not a pronoun or any other thing but the name of a king. When the dynasty of Aya was already gone and the reigning king was supreme ‘King of kings, son of the Gods,’ there would have been no objection from and no prejudice to the reigning sovereign if a royal title were attached to the name of a king who flourished 136 years before.



ed in other records. But this explanation is hardly likely, because in an inscription in Indian language it would be perfectly intelligible if a Macedonian month were designated as such, but less so in the case of an Indian month, unless the use of the Macedonian names were the rule. And an examination of dated Kharoshthī inscriptions shows that it was quite the other way.” (*op. cit.*, p. 73).

An analysis of the above statement yields the following points :—

- (a) *ayasa* might represent *āryasya*.  
*āryasya* signifying Aryan, as distinguished from Macedonian untenable.
- (b) *ayasa* in an Indian inscr. should have an Indian association with the word *āryasya*.
- (c) If such association is not forthcoming, then the equivalent cannot be *āryasya*, but may be something else, e.g., *ādyasya*, meaning ‘of the first month’ of *āshāḍha*.

In EI, Konow compares *ayasa* with *ajasa* (of the Kalawan inscr.) and revises (a) above :—“Since the consonant of the base word *aya*, *aja* can be written both *y* and *j*, it cannot correspond to Sanskrit *y* or *ry*, because *-y-* remains as *y* or is dropped, and *ry* appears as *ry*, *riy*, or occasionally, as *y* in the North-Western Prakrit.”<sup>1</sup>

Konow’s revision is hardly an improvement. In the *Corpus*, p. 73, he rightly says that “the latter (i.e., *ajja*) might become *aja*, *aya*.” If *ārya* could become

<sup>1</sup> EI, XXI, p. 254; CII, pp. cv, cvii.



*ajja*, there would be no difficulty in *ajja* becoming both *āja* and *āya*.

Now, *ārya* does become *ajja*. Cf. Hemacandra, 8, 2, 24; *dya—yya—ryāñi jah : rya—bhajjā*.

This is in Śaurasenī. But the same change occurs in Pāisāci, evidently spoken in Takshaśilā. Cf. Hemacandra, 8.4.314. :

*rya—sna—shtāñ—riya—sina—satāḥ kvachit.*  
*bhāryā > bhāriyā ; kvachiditi kim ? Sūrya > sujjo.*

The Pāiyalacchī Nāmamālā by Dhanapāla quoted by Hemacandra as an authority gives the form *ajjā* for *āryā*<sup>1</sup> (PN. edited by Bühler, p. 21, verse no. 3).

Even according to Konow, *ajja* becomes *āja* and *āya*. Thus the difference between the *ajasa* and *ayasa* of the Silver Scroll and Kalawan inscr. is only graphic and both represent *āryasya*.

The objection to distinguishing it from the Macedonian is real and cannot be overcome by Konow's belated recantation in favour of distinguishing it from the Saka on the analogy of *Sakasa* in the Sirkap Kharoshthī inscr. found in 1926-27. A Saka-kāla is not an unfamiliar designation in an Indian inscr. or book, but an Āryakāla is unknown, would be possible in a foreign inscr. or description as in Ārike of the Greek author of the *Periplus*, but is extremely improbable in an Indian inscr. by an Indian<sup>2</sup> recording an Indian (Buddhist or Jain)

<sup>1</sup> *Pāiyalacchī Nāmamālā* by Dhanapāla. Edited by George Bühler. Göttingen, 1879, p. 21, verse 3.

<sup>2</sup> The Silver Scroll inscr. has *Babaliēna* but there is no doubt regarding Chandrabhī and Nandivardhana in the Kalawan inscr.



religious observance.

Once the natural construction of *ayasa* and *ajasa* representing *āryasya* and qualifying *ashāḍasa* is recognised, it becomes surprising that (b) the well-known association of *āryasya* with *āshāḍha* and *śrāvaṇa* for the proper performance of the pious rites of the Buddhists and Jains has escaped attention so far.

*Āshāḍha* and *Śrāvaṇa* are specially *ārya* to the Buddhists and Jains who consecrated the sanctity of these months by naming their *ācāryas* and ceremonies after them. Cf. *Abhidhānarājendrarāḥ*, vol. I, p. 224 :

Ajjāśāḍha—Āryāśāḍha, puṁ o Śrī-Vīrasiddhe caturdaśādhikavarshaśatadvaye' tīkrānte utpannāvya-ktadṛṣṭīnām gurau, te cā" āryāśāḍhābhīdha ācāryāḥ Svetāmbiyāṁ nagaryyāṁ samavasṛtya tatraiva hṛdaya-śūlarogato mṛtvā saudharṁ upapadya punaḥ śatīram-dhishṭhāya kañcitsvaśishyamācāryyāṁ kṛtvā divaṁ gatā iti. A o ka o. Utta o. A o ma o.

It is interesting to note that like the passage above ascribing to Ārya Āshāḍha the gift of health, the Silver Scroll inscr. consecrates the relics of the Lord in the month of *ārya āshāḍha* 'for the bestowal of health upon himself,' *atvaṇo arogadakṣiṇae*, and the bestowal of health on the Great King. (Lines 3 and 5).

The importance of these two months goes back to early days. The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to *Āshāḍhi Sauśromateya* and to *Āshāḍha Sāvayasa*, and the *Buddhacarita* refers to *Ashāḍha* a king who reached final bliss. Similarly the *Atharvaveda*, *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa* and *Gṛhyasūtras* confirm the special sanctity of *Śrāvaṇa* and *Śrāvaṇa* ceremonies. (Cf.



Winternitz in the Index Volume of the Sacred Books of the East Series, p. 534).

Point (c) above does not arise.

Thus both the Taxila Silver Scroll and the Kalawan inscrr. of the year 136 and 134, may be taken as connected with some unknown era, probably the old Saka Era, possibly the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. (the lack of corroboration regarding its use in the North-West notwithstanding), in the sacred (*ārya*) months of Āshāḍha and Śrāvaṇa, on the 15th and 23rd days respectively.

Konow's reading of *Sakasa* in the Taxila Silver Vase inscription is extremely doubtful. In Plate XXX of the *Corpus* he rightly read Ka 1 100 20 20 20 20 10 1 maharaja [bhra] [ta Ma\*] [ṇi] [gula\*] sa putrasa Jihoṇikasa Chukhsasa kshatrapasa.

He remarks : "The inscription begins below the mouth with a distinct *ka*. \*\*\* *Ka* is evidently the first akshara of the record, and it is perhaps an abbreviation e.g. of *ka* (*le*)."  
(*Corpus*, p. 82). "There is not enough space in front of this *ka* for restoring [*samvatsara*] *k* [*e*]." (ibid).

In EI. vol. XXI, p. 255, Konow completely reverses this position. He says : "\*If we substitute the fuller form *samvatsaraye* 191 *sakasa*, in the year 191 of Saka, we would have an exact parallel to *samvatsaraye* 134 *ajasa*."

It is a curious lapse for a scholar of Konow's rectitude. He apparently forgets that the real difficulty is about the position of the word *ajasa*, *ayasa* after the figure and not before it. In the Taxila Silver Vase inscription the word with *ka* precedes



the figure 191, whereas in the Kalawan copper-plate inscription the word *ajasa* follows the figure 134. Thus they can never be described as 'exactly parallel' (p. 255, EI. XXI). Cf.

(Sa) ka     1 100 20 20 20 20 10 1   maharaja  
[bhra] [ta Ma\*] [ni] [gula\*]sa

Saṁvatśaraye 1 100 20 10 4 ajasa śravaṇasa masasa  
divase treviśe

Konow accepted Thomas's suggestion—"we seem to detect before the *ka* a sign which presents a great resemblance to *sa*." (EI, XXI, p. 255).<sup>1</sup> Professor Thomas takes it as *Saka* 191 with reference to an era designated as Saka institution. This suggestion is innocuous but it is totally different from the interpretation Konow puts on it: "In the year so-and-so, Azes style" as an exact parallel of "in the year so-and-so, Saka style". Konow offers a specific significance to *Sakasa* which is altogether unfounded. Since Kielhorn wrote his elaborate note 'On the Dates of the Saka Era in Inscriptions' in May 1894, *Indian Antiquary*, till to-day, not a single instance can be found of this use of *Sakasa*.

On the other hand, Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain books bear out the special sanctity of *Āshāḍha* and *Śrāvaṇa*. The Vaikhāṇasa and Bauddhāyana Sūtras<sup>2</sup> refer to *Āshāḍha* and *Śrāvaṇa*. According to the Vinayapitaka<sup>3</sup> the Bauddha monks began their *vassa*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Bauddhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, 1-12-16.

<sup>3</sup> Bühler, EI, vol. II, p. 263, note on Aśoka's Pillar Edict V; Kern, *Buddhismus*, vol. II. p. 260.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Table of Knauer and Barth, *Ind. Ant.*, 1894, September, p. 249.



on the day after the full moon either of Āshāḍha or of Śrāvaṇa. The Chaumāsa of the Jain Śrāvakas is entered under Āshāḍha-Śrāvaṇa, and, like the Vassa of the Bauddhas, it is the season for preaching and devotional practices. (Jacobi, *Paryuṣaṇākalpa Nir-  
yukti*, gāthā 2.) Both the Taxila Silver Scroll and the Kalawan Copper-plate inscrr. bear out these special features of the two sacred (ārya) Āshāḍha and Śrāvaṇa months.



## Miscellaneous Articles

### ANCIENT INDIAN COINS

By SIR R. BURN

In an article entitled "New Coins of Nāga Vāk-āṭaka period", at p. 70, J. B. O. R. S., XXII Mr. K. P. Jayaswal refers to some criticisms by me in the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* for 1933 (pub. 1935). At p. 73 of his "History of India, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D." he read on a coin from Kosam, published by V. A. Smith in Catalogue of the Indian Museum XX, 5, the name Rudra and the date 100, and assigned the coin to Rudrasena the Vākāṭaka king and equated the date to 348 A. D. In my review I pointed out that the marks interpreted as Rudra were part of a *nandipada* and the symbol read as 100 was really a *svastika*. Mr. Jayaswal makes no comment on those two criticisms and I presume he accepts them.

He disputes, however, my suggestion that the coin referred to was probably of the third century B. C. and describes my view of the date as *ex cathedra*. It was, however, the view of V. A. Smith (Vide Catalogue of the Indian Museum, p. 146: "These coins may be assigned to the second or third century B. C."), and also of Professor Rapson ("Indian Coins", p. 12: "—probably as early as the third century B. C.", and "Cambridge History of India", p. 525: "The



coinage of the kings of Kauṣāmbi seems to begin in the third century B. C.—”). Mr. Allan in the British Museum Catalogue of Ancient Coins, which will appear shortly, takes the same view of the date.

To prove the error which I share with students more authoritative than myself Mr. Jayaswal now publishes another coin from Kosam. That coin is of great interest and the only other specimen of a similar type with an inscription appears to be that shown in Cunningham's plate V-8, and read as (Baha) satimিতা. The new illustration is unfortunately not very clear, having apparently been prepared directly from the coin and therefore showing lights and shadows which would not appear if a cast had been used. I cannot trace from it the word *Śrī*, which is not usual on north Indian coins till later. The letter *Bha* looks to me more like the forms used at Bhārhut and Pabhosa about 150 B. C. (Bühler's tables, No. II, XVII and XVIII) than any of the later forms (in table No. III). The rounded base of *va* also points to an early date, and the form of *na* is not distinctive. I can see on the reproduction no trace of the box heads of letters in Vākāṭaka plate inscriptions, and the shapes of both *bha* and *va* on the coin differ from the Vākāṭaka forms. The coin has a general resemblance to the early series from Kosam and it appears to have been cast and not struck, a description which also applies to the earlier coin. One point of difference is that on the new coin the bull faces right, while on the earlier one it faces left. Cunningham's inscribed coin was said to bear a horse to right, not a bull, but is in poor condition.



In Paragraph 7 of his present article Mr. Jayaswal still assigns the earlier coin to a Vākāṭaka king, though he does not repeat his reading of Rudra and of a date. His grounds are that the earlier coin bears the mark of a wheel which he claims was a royal symbol of the Vākāṭakas. In the absence of the evidence of a link it is just as probable that the rulers of Kosam and the Vākāṭakas both used a symbol the meaning of which is now uncertain. It may represent the sun. Mr. Jayaswal assigns his new coin to Bhava Nāga of the Bhāraśiva dynasty whom he dates approximately in 290-315 A. D. (History, p. 28) and the other coin to either Pravarasena I or Rudrasena I who succeeded Bhava Nāga. This, however, raises a fresh difficulty. When we have a series of ancient coins of approximately the same character some of which are inscribed while others are not, it is usual to assume that the inscribed coins are the later. Thus the probability is that the uninscribed coins from Kosam, of which specimens are not uncommon, are earlier than this new specimen with an inscription. On still another coin Mr. Jayaswal reads the name Bhīma and adds "nāga" as the interpretation of a wavy line below the elephant on the coin. But such a line is just as likely to represent water as a snake. On the reading of the name I can say nothing as the reproduction is not sufficiently clear to me.

To sum up, Mr. Jayaswal's argument that the existence of a wheel on the coin which began this discussion is sufficient to justify its attribution to a dynasty in the fourth century A. D. which also placed a wheel on some of its inscriptions, does not convince



me, in face of the fabric and appearance of the coin. Wheels are shown for example on a great Kushan seal, and on a coin of the White Huns. (Cunningham, Later Indo-Scythians, pl. III-2 and Pl. X-3). His argument that the new inscribed coin is to be dated earlier than the other is also not corroborated, and as I have tried to show above those letters on the new coin which are clear indicate the middle of the second century B. C., rather than the first quarter of the fourth century A. D. In particular, these letters differ very considerably from the form used by the Vākātakas. All students of these coins have hitherto believed that the cast coins of Kauśāmbhi are older than those which have been struck. Mr. Jayaswal in this Journal for 1934 (pp. 289, 293, 294 and 299) assigned the struck coins of Bahasatimita (C A I, V-11) to Brihadaśva Maurya, whom he dated *circa* 195-188 B. C.

A minor point arises from Paragraphs 10 and 11 of Mr. Jayaswal's paper and the note by Mr. Durga Prasad which follows it. I had no intention of depriving Mr. Jayaswal of the honour of priority in publishing the reading Navasa or -navasa on the coin read differently by others. But there is no doubt that other people had anticipated him in reading though not in the publication. The interpretation is a different matter. In 1934 Mr. Jayaswal himself was disposed to read additional letters on the silver coin (J. B. O. R. S., XX, p. 8), though he subsequently (pp. 306-307) returned to the reading Nava. The fact is that these later Kosam coins offer a number of problems in reading which have not been solved.



### Reviews and Notices of Books

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA. Fascicule 8, Virāṭa-parvan. For the first time critically edited by V. S. Sukhthankar. Poona. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. 11½ × 9, pp. I-LX, 1—363.

The Virāṭaparavan has been edited with the help of MSS. belonging to the Northern and Southern Recensions, about fifteen Commentaries and any helpful suggestion from older (printed) editions. Dr. Raghu Vira the editor of the present Parvan, has faithfully followed the sound principles laid down by the General Editor, Dr. V. S. Sukhthankar and adopted in the earlier Parvans. These were discussed in the Prolegomena of the Adiparvan and have been applied to the present edition. The editor has frankly admitted his difficulties. "Out of a total of 1834 stanzas of the constituted text the editor is sure for only about 300 stanzas". (p. XXVI). "And then, for one-fourth of the entire extent of the Virāṭa, the *sequence* of stanzas, connected or even disconnected with the order of events, is far from certain." (p. XXVI). The sequence of the North has been preferred but only as an "āpaddharma" (p. XXVI).

This confession, inevitable under the circumstances, inspires greater confidence in the competence of the editor as well as the value of the work as a whole than the estimate which Prof. P. P. S. Sastri has formed of his own work. "The Southern Recen-



sion, critically edited", Madras, 1932. It would seem that he conceives its principal merit to consist in the scheme that "according to our printed edition, the Virāṭaparvan contains all the 3,500 stanzas claimed for it" (Introduction, p. viii).

The difference in outlook between these two editions of the Virāṭaparvan is instructive. Dr. Ragu Vira does not seem always aware of the limits which orthodox writers have prescribed to themselves, in dissenting from the received text of the sacred records. Of the various readings which time and accident have introduced into the copies of the originals; but, in which, however, there is on the whole incomparably less variety, than in those of any other ancient work extant except the Vedas; it certainly is thought allowable for commentators to select such as they may best approve. At the same time, Prof. P. P. S. Sastri evidently ignores that all conjectural emendation of the sacred text is strictly prohibited; not from any absurd or superstitious reverence for the mortal vehicle in which immortal information has been transmitted to us; but on this plain and rational ground, that, where the license of conjecturing is so little required, and may prove so inexpressibly dangerous, a total abstinence from it is alike prescribed to us by prudence and duty. The spirit of this general canon leaves room for discrepancy even amongst those who utilise common sources.

The most important consideration, however, is to take note of all these sources. The edition of Drs. Sukthankar and Raghu Vira is the only adequate



attempt till now in this direction. Every student of Indology will, therefore, look forward eagerly to the completion of this arduous undertaking by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI



## List of Members of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society on 31st December, 1936

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4	Frazer, Sir James G., D.C.L., LL.D., LITT.D.	1916	Trinity College, Cam- bridge, England.
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12	Sankrityayana, Rev. Rahula	1934	Patna
13	Thomas, F.W., M.A., HON. PH.D., F.R.S.	1919	Boden Professor of Sanskrit, University of Oxford.
14	Walsh, E.H.C., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1919	c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., Cox's & King's Branch. 6, Pall Mall, London, s.w.



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12	Singh, Raja Radhikaraman Prasad, M.A.	1916	Surajpura (Shahabad).
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12	Barhut, Sardar Thakur Kishore Singh	1932	State Historian, Patiala.
13	Batheja, Prof. H. R., M.A., I.E.S.	1920	G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur.
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31	Hill, J. L., M.A. ..	1920	Patna College, Patna.
32	Hubback, His Excellency, Sir J. A., K. C. S. I. I.C.S.	1935	Governor, Orissa.
<b>J</b>			
33	James, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W., I.C.S.	1923	High Court, Patna.
34	Jayaswal, K. P. M.A., PH. D., Barrister-at-Law	1915	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
35	Jha, Audh Bihari, M.A. ..	1933	Saurath, P. O. Madhubani, Darbhanga.
36	Jha, Lakshmikant, B.L. ..	1925	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
37	Jha, Ramakrishna, B.L. ..	1930	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
38	Jinjal, Srinarayan Lal B.A., B.L.	1928	Dhauni Tola, Advocate, Gaya.
39	Johnson, Joh .. ..	1934	Joema Mission, P. O. Gossaigaon, Assam.
<b>K</b>			
40	Khan Bahadur Syd. Muhammad Ismail	1928	Patna City.



## Ordinary Members—(Continued)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
	<b>L</b>		
41	Lall, Raja, P.C. .. ..	1924	Raja of Nazarganj, Purnea City.
42	Law, Dr. Narendra Nath, M.A., B.L., PH.D.	1924	96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
	<b>M</b>		
43	Mackenzie, W. .. ..	1916	Superintendent Government Printing, Gulzarbagh, Patna.
44	McPherson, Sir H., K.C. I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1915	c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., Ltd., 54, Parliament Street, London, S.W.1.
45	Mahashaya, Rai Bahadur Harendra Narayan Ray	1915	Lakshannath, Bala-sore.
46	Mahatha, Rai Bahadur Krishna Deva Narayan	1920	Muzaffarpur.
47	Majumdar, Bimanbehari ..	1927	B. N. College, Patna.
48	Majumdar, Dr. R. C. ..	1920	Dacca University, Dacca.
49	Manuk, P. C., Bar-at-Law	1920	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
50	Mishra, Dr. Janardan, M.A., PH.D.	1927	B. N. College, Patna.
51	Mishra, Ganga Shankar M.A.	1933	Librarian, Benares Hindu University, Benares.
52	Mishra, Umesha, D.LITT.		Allahabad University, Allahabad.
53	Mitra, K. P., M.A., B.L. ..	1920	D. J. College, Monghyr.
54	Mukerji, Prof. A. ..	1929	10, Bol. Guozdnikovsky, Apt. 202, Moscow.



## Ordinary Members— (Continued)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
	<b>N</b>		
55	Noor, The Hon'ble Sir Khwaja Muhammad, Kt., C.B.E., Khan Bahadur	1915	Patna.
	<b>P</b>		
56	Pal. M. N., B.A., B.L. ..	1936	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
57	Perier, Most Rev., F.J., S.J.	1915	Archbishop of Calcutta, 32, Park Street, Calcutta.
58	Prasad, Biswanath, M.A. ..	1928	Professor, Patna College, Patna.
59	Prasad, Mahabir, B.L. ..	1926	Pleader, Chapra.
60	Prasad, Nageswar, M.A., B.L.	1928	Advocate, Patna.
61	Prasad, Surya, Mahajan ..	1918	Manulal Library, Gaya.
	<b>R</b>		
62	Rajaguru, Pandit Hemraj Sarma, C.I.E.	1934	Dhokatola, Kathmandu, Nepal.
63	Ramdas, G., B.A. .. ..	1924	Sri Ramchandra Vilas, Jeypur, Vizagapatam.
64	Ranganatham, S.R. ..	1927	Librarian, Madras University, Madras.
65	Ray, Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal	1915	Dewan, Bonaigarh State, Bonaigarh P. O., Orissa.
66	Regmi. Pt. Dilli Ramanji B.A.	1936	Patna College.
67	Richards, F. J. .. ..	1924	1A Collingham Road, S. W. 5, London.



## Ordinary Members—(Continued)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
68	Rohatgi, Binayakrishna ..	1925	Dhaulpura Kothi, Begampur, Patna City.
69	Roy, Rai Bahadur, S.C., M.A., B.L., M.L.C.	1915	Ranchi.
	S		
70	Sahay, S. N. .. ..	1935	Barrister-at-Law, Patna.
71	Sarkar, Ganapati, Vidya- ratna	1926	69, Beliaghatta Road, Calcutta.
72	Sarkar, Jadunath, M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.), C.I.E.	1915	Sarkaravas, Darjee- ling.
73	Sarkar, Dr. Subimal C. ..	1930	Professor of History, Patna College, Patna.
74	Sen, D. N., M.A., I.E.S., (Retd.)	1916	Patna.
75	Shah, Srinath .. ..	1936	Durgakund, Benares.
76	Sham Bahadur .. ..	1928	Barrister-at-Law, Patna.
77	Sharma, Ram Bahadur, M.A.	1934	Advocate, Patna.
78	Sharma, Sri Ram, M.A. ..	1932	D. A. V. College, Lahore.
79	Shastri, Dr. A. Banerji, M.A., D.PHIL.	1923	Patna College, Patna.
80	Shastri, Dr. Harichand, D.LITT., I.E.S.	1918	Principal, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.
81	Shastri, I. D. Daurgadatti	1920	Superintendent, Sanskrit Association, Patna.
82	Singh, Jaikishore, Nara- yan	1934	Pakri State, P. O. Baj- patti, Muzaffarpur.
83	Singh, Lakshminarayan ..	1933	Advocate, High Court Patna.
84	Singh, Rai Brajabihari Saran, M.A., B.L.	1915	Asst. Registrar, Co- operative Societies, Monghyr.



## Ordinary Members—(Continued)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
85	Singh, Raja Harihar Prasad Narayan	1916	Amawan, District Patna.
86	Singh, Raja Bahadur Kirtyanand	1915	Banaili, Purnea.
87	Singh, Raja Rajendralala, Bariha	1916	Barsambar, Padampur, Sambalpur.
88	Singh, Sarangadhar, M.A., B.L.	1925	K. V. Press, Patna.
89	Sinha, Mahendrakishore, B.A., B.L.	1926	Bhaimsa, Dist. Nanded, Hyderabad, Deccan.
90	Sinha, Paras Nath, B.A., LL.B.	1930	Hindustan Times, Delhi.
91	Sinha, S., Bar-at-Law ..	1915	Patna.
92	Sullivan, The Rt. Rev. Dr., S. J.	1929	Lord Bishop, Patna.
93	Svarup, Rai Bahadur Bishun	1920	Mahalla Maithan, Agra.
T			
94	Tandan, R. R., M.A. ..	1934	Muzaffarpur.
95	Tarafdar, Rev. S. K. ..	1915	Bishop's House, Chowringhee, Calcutta.
96	Taraporewala, Y. J. ..	1930	Professor of History, Patna College, Patna.
97	Terrell, The Hon'ble Sir Courtney, Kt.	1928	Chief Justice, High Court, Patna.
98	Tirtha Swami, Vedananda	1933	P. O. Dhinga, Dist. Gujerat, Punjab.
99	Tripathi, Devadatta ..	1916	Kadam Kuan, Patna.
100	Tripathi, Ramshankar, M.A., PH.D.	1932	Benares Hindu University, Benares.



## Ordinary Members—(Concluded)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
	<b>U</b>		
101	Urquhart, Rev. Dr. W. S., M.A., D.D., D.LITT., 1934 Principal, Scottish Churches College, Calcutta.	1934	Principal, Scottish Churches College, Calcutta.
	<b>V</b>		
102	Varma, The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. P.	1930	Patna.
103	Vidyalankar, Jaya Chandra	1929	Daraganj, Allahabad.
104	Vogel, Dr. J., PH.D. ..	1920	Noordeindsplein, 40, Leiden, Holland.

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